A LETTER TO HENRY DUNCOMBE, Esq.

MEMBER FOR THE COUNTY OF YORK,

ON THE

SUBJECT

OF THE VERY

EXTRAORDINARY PAMPHLET,

LATELY ADDRESSED BY

MR. BURKE,

TO A

NOBLE LORD.

BY WILLIAM MILES.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

"If you are for a Republic, why do you not make it in a direct "and manly Way? Why not openly declare your Intentions? If you "ask whether I hate a Republican Speculation, I will answer, NO! I "love, revere, and adore the true Principles of a Republic!"

Edmund Burke in the House of Commons,
Tuesday, January 27, 1789.

LONDON:
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1796.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Pall-Mall, March 11th, 1796.

A PASSAGE is omitted in the thirty-third page, in tenderneſs to the wounded feelings of ſome near relations of a gentleman who is no more, but on whoſe memory, not the moſt diſtant reflection was ever intended. In a few hours after the appearance of the firſt edition, three gentlemen called at my lodgings, and deſired to ſpeak to me, if I was perfectly at leiſure; on being admitted, they announced themſelves as the neareſt relations of Mr. Burke; I requeſted them to be ſeated; they informed me that they waited on me, under great affliction of mind, in conſequence of a paſſage in my letter which ſeemed to convey a ſtigma on their deceaſed friend, and

which gave them inexpreſſible pain,—that they did not mean to enter into the ſubject of any other part of the letter. They acknowledged that they had nothing to do with it, but that they had been deeply affected, with what they had pointed out as objectionable, and, without conſulting any one elſe, had reſolved to wait on me and requeſt it to be eraſed. I aſſured them, that it was, at all times, the fartheſt from my intention, to wantonly inflict pain, or give offence to unoffending individuals; that taking a retroſpective view of Mr. Burke's life, and ſuppoſing that vices, as well as virtues, deſcended from father to ſon—aſſuming that idea, as a fact, I had ſaid, that "*What was a calamity to the former, ought to be hailed as a bleſſing to the country,*" and that in ſuch a ſenſe only, I deſired it to be read and underſtood.

They declared themſelves ſatisfied with the explanation, but as the world, perhaps, would not underſtand it in that light, and it was a matter that gave them infinite diſtreſs, from the affection they bore to the memory of their departed relation, they would eſteem

esteem it as a favor, if I would erase in the subsequent editions, what had given so much uneasiness in the first. Pleased with a piety that did them so much honor, I told them, that I would not allow them to solicit as a favor, what their decorum and feelings, entitled them to claim as a right, and that they might be assured the whole of the passage, which had given them so much pain, should be expunged, in justice to what I felt due to wounded sensibility. They acknowledged themselves much obliged, and left me. If others should have fallen into a similar error, and should have equally misunderstood my meaning, I refer them to a passage in the first edition, where it will appear that the person whose premature death has been so affectionately deplored by his generous relations, participates of the just tribute I have paid to one, who was much nearer allied to me, and certainly much dearer to me, in every respect, than he could possibly have been to the gentlemen who called upon me, and when they refer to page 98, in the first edition, and read, "that Mr. Burke* is not the only man who

* "*Mr. Burke, believe me, Sir, is not the only man who* "*has to lament the loss of departed excellence!*"

Vide p. 94, of this edit. and p. 98 of the former.

has to lament the loſs of *departed excellence,*" they will then acquit me, as I truſt the world will, of having even the moſt diſtant intention to reflect on either the memory, or the character, of their deceaſed and invaluable friend, who is happily relieved from all the vain contentions of this buſtling world. Had Mr. Burke felt the ſame reſpect as theſe gentlemen for the hallowed precincts of the grave; had he, like them, reſpected the ſepulchre, he would not have broken into the ſanctuary of death, reſolved on ſacrilege and murder! He would not have diſturbed the awful ſilence of the tomb, nor in the ſtill and ſolemn hour of night, have wandered through the dreary, conſecrated vault, a ſpectre, amidſt ſpectres! wreaking his mean and impotent revenge, on departed and defenceleſs greatneſs!—He would not have forced the peaceful manſion of repoſe, aſſaſſin like, with a dagger in one hand and a dark lanthorn in the other, to trample on the ſcattered, ſad remains of human grandeur! He would not have ſought his zig-zag way amidſt the wrecks and ruins of unnumbered years, to ſtab at once, the *living* and the *dead.* We ſhould not have ſeen him winding his

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impious courſe, with ſlow, but cautious ſtep, leſt echo, ever on the watch, ſhould awaken him to remorſe and ſhame; we ſhould not have ſeen him abaſhed and conſcious of his guilt, turn, coward like, from the clay cold corpſe of patriot worth, from the ſhade of injured Ruſſel, (a nation's pride, and monarch's ſhame!) leſt he ſhould have felt, once more, the ſacred, animating glow of PUBLIC VIRTUE!

His hatred, boundleſs and eternal, ſpurns each mild and generous ſentiment, and we behold a mind formed for the nobleſt purpoſes, and a heart ſuſceptible of the tendereſt ſympathy, degraded into the active ſervile inſtruments of the baſeſt paſſion! O God, that ſo much excellence, that ſuch rare, ſuch wonderful endowments, ſhould have been ſo perverted! What a contraſt does the piety of the gentlemen who waited on me laſt Monday, form to that of their living friend and relation!—Mr. Burke penetrated to the very extremity of the tomb, to drag from his peaceful urn, the anceſtor of the Duke of Bedford, and for what purpoſe? The character

racter of his Grace cannot be impeached by the vices of his anceſtor, nor can the crimes of Mr. Ruſſel, in 1550, juſtify the grant which Mr. Burke has dexterouſly obtained, of a penſion in 1793. There is no parallel in the two caſes; there is nothing analogous between them. Mr. Burke cannot mean to ſay, that if, in the event of its appearing to Parliament, the penſion is enormous, and not merited, it ought to be recalled, that the immenſe landed property of the Ruſſel family ſhould alſo be reſumed: He cannot mean any ſuch thing, for, on that principle, he would ſhake all the poſſeſſions of antient inheritance in the kingdom, and whether the Duke of Bedford is ill or well adviſed; whether his Grace frequents good or bad company; or whether he is right, or whether he is wrong in his politics, neither his conduct, nor that of his anceſtor in the reign of Henry VIII. have any thing in common, with the different annuities that have been granted to Mr. Burke from the public purſe, at the cloſe of the 18th century, and having no relation with the argument, it was illiberal, as well as irrelevant to the ſubject, to rake among the aſhes of the

dead,

dead, for matter of reproach to the *living*, and which, when found, could not poſſibly apply. If I have reprobated a conduct, that appears to me to be ſomething more than reprehenſible with uncommon warmth, I beg it may be remembered, that my language, in no part of the ſubſequent letter, is marked with thoſe ſtrong and groſs perſonalities with which Mr. Burke has accuſtomed himſelf to treat thoſe whom he has oppoſed through life. I requeſt the favor of thoſe who are inclined to cenſure me for ſeverity, to have the candor to recollect the groſs ſcurrilities with which he inſulted Mr. Haſtings, for a ſeries of years, in a ſituation where the object of his abuſe, or rather, as he imagined, the victim of his malevolence, was bound hand and foot, precluded all means of defence, and compelled to ſuffer all the indignities, and to hear all the calumnies, falſe and malicious as they were, which his unfeeling Perſecutor, in a torrent of eloquence worthy of a better cauſe, had the wanton malignity to let looſe againſt him. The frequent appeals of Mr. Haſtings to the juſtice and humanity of the Court, againſt the cruel

and unmanly aſperſions of Mr. Burke, muſt be freſh in every man's memory. But Mr. Haſtings is not the only inſtance in which the gentleman, who is the object of theſe animadverſions, has given full latitude to perſonal abuſe; even the Sovereign, who has extended his royal compaſſion, with a munificence worthy of the empire and of himſelf, (for I deny that Mr. Burke has *deſerved* the remuneration he has received) was for ſome time the ſelected choſen object of his invective and abuſe, and particularly at a moment when "*deſpondency prevailed* "*throughout the nation; when every face* "*was marked with woe, and every cheek* "*bedewed with tears,*"* anxious for the return of health to a monarch deſervedly beloved, whoſe preſervation, at all times devoutly to be wiſhed, was rendered ſtill more ſo then, from the peculiar and diſtreſſing circumſtances of the moment. Yet it was at that moment, and when his Majeſty was unhappily labouring under one of the heavieſt misfortunes, that can befal humanity in its rude paſſage from the cradle to

* Vide p. 31, of the Letter to the Duke of Grafton.

the grave, that Mr. Burke had the unfeeling insolence to his Sovereign at all times, and his very munificent Benefactor at present, to insult him.

With respect to the warmth, with which I may be reproached, let the language that Mr. Burke has uniformly held in Parliament, and in the House of Lords on the trial of Mr. Hastings, be recollected before sentence is passed on that of mine. Let his coarse and unprovoked abuse of individuals, on a variety of occasions, be remembered, and it will then be acknowledged, that even where I have been the most intemperate, that I have only dealt by him, as he as dealt by others, and given him measure for measure. In a word, let the whole of Mr. Burke's public history, for it is on that he grounds his claim to public reward, be stated to the nation, agreeable to his own prodigally detailed items of it, in the letter addressed to a Noble Lord, and then let the nation pronounce, whether he ought, in decency, to have accepted of so large a portion of its wealth as the following statement; which statement, of course, supersedes, and renders

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unneceſſary, the one already given, and which would have been omitted, if this had come in time.

£.	
1200 per annum, chargeable on the Civil Liſt for the lives of -	Edmund Burke, Eſq. and his Wife, and the ſurvivor of them, by warrant dated Sept 24, 1795, and to commence from Jan. 5, 1793.
1160 per annum, payable out of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties, for the lives of -	Edmund Burke, Eſq. Lord Royſton, and Anchitel Grey, Eſq. and the ſurvivor of them by patent, dated Oct. 24, 1795, to commence July 24, 1793.
1340 per annum, payable out of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties, for the lives of - -	The Princeſs Amelia, Lord Althorpe, and William Cavendiſh, Eſq. by patent dated Oct. 24, 1795, to commence from July 24, 1793.

The two latter Mr. Burke is ſaid to have ſold for THIRTY-SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS, after having taken care to receive what was due on them. Will any one ſay, after this, that he does not underſtand bargains?

A LET-

LETTER,

&c.

Dear Sir,

It was imagined that Mr. Burke, for a variety of reaſons would, on his debts being paid, and his neceſſities provided for by a penſion on three lives, have quietly reſigned himſelf to the wiſe diſpenſations of Providence, and ſought refuge in his Breviary from all the multiplied mortifications to which he had been expoſed by a mind debaſed, crippled, and ulcerated, even to a gangrene, by the conſciouſneſs of verſatile guilt.

His chaplet and roſary, it was thought, would have exerciſed his meek faculties in a ſpecies

of

of arithmetic, very different to that which he had studied in his commerce with a profane world; and as his rosary and chaplet had been long in disuse, they would have come back to his embraces with all the captivating charms of novelty. Those who gave Mr. Burke credit for the piety he professes, expected that those holy facilities to salvation would have administered consolation and amusement to his distempered imagination, and rendered the cloisters of Beaconsfield no less acceptable, in the evening and decline of life, than its merry hall and festive apartments had been in the proud and happy days of ripened full-blown vanity.

If on examining his account with offended Heaven, the sum total of his manifold transgressions, bearing hard upon his conscience, and awakening his fears for the future, had murdered hope, a confessor might have been found, without much difficulty, whose charity would have kept pace with the delinquency of his penitent, and who, on the mere semblance of contrition, would readily have granted a full and entire remission of sins, without subjecting the venerable offender to the rude trial of any very very severe or humiliating penance.

Mr. Burke is not wholly unacquainted with the accommodating ſpirit of the Romiſh clergy; he has mixed much with that deſcription of people, and muſt have obſerved, that they are as indulgent to thoſe of their own perſuaſion, as they are inſolent, intolerant, and inexorable to all others. His confeſſions in early life cannot be altogether effaced from his memory; the recollection of them may poſſibly have operated as a ſtimulus to that zeal with which he endeavours to replunge an emancipated world once more into ignorance, barbariſm, and vaſſalage; nor can any thing ſhort of the groſſeſt turpitude or deluſion enable us to account for his extreme ſolicitude to reinſtate the Mother Church, in all that pomp and omnipotence which more enlightened times have happily wreſted from her iniquitous pride and uſurpation.

I hope it will not offend the extreme piety of this competitor for one of his Majeſty's titles—this *new defender* of exploded faith—when I aſſert, that he is entitled to claim as a right, all that Rome has to beſtow in the way of abſolution. I cannot think that the holy pontiff of the preſent day, great as his conſternation and alarm muſt be in this awful mo-

ment of univerſal dread and deſpondency,* can have overlooked ſuch tranſcendant merit, or deny its ſtrong claim to reward in the next

* It is not, perhaps, generally known in this country, that the cedules, or paper money, at Rome, which had the ſame credit and currency of our bank notes, are at this moment at 30 *per cent.* diſcount. That the holy treaſury, in which the acquiſitions from œconomy under this pontificate, were enormous, and to which acceſs only could be had by the joint concurrence of the pope, the cardinals, and the ſenators; that the ſacred coffer which contained this immenſe treaſure, fortified and ſecured under treble locks, to each of which there was a ſeparate key, have had their ponderous bolts driven back, in virtue of the only power that could have done it, an unanimous reſolve of the parties tripartite; that *the church is in imminent danger*, and this fund has been almoſt diſſipated in regimenting, maintaining, and decorating, a rabble the moſt ſanguinary and debauched, perhaps, in Europe, with great coats and cloaks, who never knew what cloathing was, and which a mild and beneficent climate has rendered, in ſome degree, uſeleſs; where numbers ſleep under no other canopy than that of Heaven, and where many of them were begotten and produced! the ſtreets their cradle and abode! what direction will theſe men take with arms in their hands, when the funds are exhauſted by which they are at preſent ſo prodigally maintained, and which, not ariſing from revenue or commerce, or pious contributions, as in days of yore, muſt ſoon fail? But this queſtion applies to other nations as well as to Rome, and thoſe who can behold the preſent proſpect of affairs unmoved, and without alarm for the future, muſt have ſtronger nerves and a greater ſhare of philoſophy than I can boaſt.

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next world, although he has little or nothing left to beſtow in this. I cannot think that Mr.

That you may be convinced I do not ſtate at random the impoveriſhed condition of the Holy Treaſury, I annex the extract of a letter I have lately received from a perſon of high rank who was on the ſpot, and on whoſe veracity I can depend. It is a curious but faithful account of the morals and finances of Rome at the cloſe of the 18th century.

"Je crois que le treſor de Sixte V. etait de 18 millions "d'ecus Romains, 4 ecus Romains pour votre livre ſterling.

"Ce que vous dites de plus eſt juſte.

"Le Pape a du lever 18 mille hommes, en 1792.

Le treſor eſt vuide maintenant; les cédules perdent 30 "pour 100; et le Pape vient de mettre un impôt; les Biens "Eccleſiaſtiques ſont impoſés un quart.—Voici au vieil "adage Romain en Paſquinien:

Semper ſub Sextis, perdita Roma fuit.

"et ſa ſainteté glorieuſement régnante s'appelle Pie VI."

"Je vais maintenant vous tenir parole, mon cher ami, "pour les dévotions du peuple Romain allieés à la ſcélé-"rateſſe.

"C'eſt à l'Ara cœli, Couvent de Recollets à la Place du "Capitole, où une image miraculeuſe de l'enfant Jeſus en "bois couvert de diamans eſt conſervée dans une chapelle "intérieure du Couvent, ſous le nom du Bambino. Le "concours du peuple y eſt prodigieux; chaque jour, à "chaque inſtant, ſurtout les ſoirs à l'heure de l'Avé Ma-"ria, les 130 et quelques marches de marbre qui conduiſent "du ſol de la rûe, a la porte de l'egliſe, ſont couvertes "de perſonnes de tout age, et de tout ſexe, qui en diſant "leur chapelet en particulier, montent les dégrés de cet eſ-"calier à genoux, et dans les caſes formées dans le marbre "par

Mr. Burke will be forgotten, where the Abbé Maury has been so well remembered; the pretensions of the prelatè in Italy, compared to those of his *lay brother* in England, are trifling and unimportant, and cannot come in competition with the indefatigable labours of the Beaconsfield hermit. The proscribed cardinal, for

" par les genoux; d'où vous pouvez juger du nombre prodigieux des dévots.

" Il faut bénir Dieu de cette piété sans doute; mais il " faut frémir aussi et bien davantage des sentimens qui la " dictent. Cette foule innombrable n'est ainsi dévote que " par excés de perversité; c'est un fils qui vient demander " à Bambino, la mort de son pere; c'est une fille qui vient " prier le Bambino de la faire avorter; c'est un amant qui " vient supplier le Bambino de lui faire trouver à l'écart le " mari de sa maitresse, pour pouvoir l'assassiner en sureté; " c'est cette femme adultere, qui vient conjurer le Bambino, de ne pas découvrir l'empoisonnement de son mari, " &c. &c.

" La Scala Santa de 33 marches de Marbre, et d'autres édifices sacrés, prês de St. Jean de Latran, est tellement useé " par les génoux des affluens qu'on n'y peut plus monter, " et que chaque marche est recouverte d'une autre marche " en bois, &c. &c. &c.

" Mais quand j'aurais une bouche de fer,
" Toujours parlant, je ne pourrais suffire,
" Mon cher lecteur, à te nombrer & dire,
" Combien de saints on rencontre enfer.

" Car tous les pelerins marmotans, se croient tous des " saints, parcequi'ls ont dit ave; ou prié le Bambino, avant " ou après leurs crimes."

Yet Mr. Burke would preserve these superstitions—perhaps from an affection for their effects!

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he is every where abhorred, contented himſelf with endeavouring to retain France (grown reſtive) within the limits of feudal vaſſalage and obedience; but his fellow-labourer in favour of ancient frauds and abuſes, with a mind more enlarged, and with views far more extenſive, animated by the indiſcriminating zeal of a convert newly made, and inflamed almoſt to madneſs, by the ardor and vehemence of a fanaticiſm entirely his own, would willingly reſtore ancient abuſes to their former credit, and make the infallibility of the Pope once more the ſtandard of our faith, and the object of our adoration. All theſe exertions are well known to the entire clergy of Rome, whoſe prayers and benedictions, whoſe ſpurious and adulterate embraces are preferred to the affectionate and legitimate careſſes of the country of which he was once conſidered its brighteſt ornament, and that has every claim to his gratitude, his ſervices, and attachment.

His toil in behalf of diſcarded tyranny and ſuperſtition, may deſerve recompence, but from whom? Surely not from this country or its government. Let Mr. Burke ſeek recompence from thoſe whom he has laboured to ſerve, and not from thoſe whom it is known he has injured. Let his attachment to tyranny and ſuperſtition meet with favour from thoſe who are be-

benefitted by their preservation, I have no objection. The various interests of this double curse on manhood have had his earliest and his latest cares, from the very moment that freedom dawned on France.

From that very instant, and before even prescience itself could foresee the wild and merciless fury, with which the beauteous statue of liberty has been polluted, mutilated, and defaced in that distracted country, Mr. Burke's efforts were exerted to preserve to its sleek and pampered clergy, the full monopoly they enjoyed for ages, in the profitable barter of relics, miracles, dispensations, plenary indulgences, pardons, and all the disgusting buffooneries which imposture, aided by credulity and power, had contrived, manufactured, and converted into stable, lucrative, merchantable commodities, for the triple purpose of enriching a profligate voluptuous priesthood, cozening the deluded nations of the earth, and brutalizing the human species over the whole surface of the habitable globe! What an immense trade, my dear Sir, was carried on for centuries between dead saints and living sinners! Every church, chapel, and cathedral in the service of Rome, had its huckster's stall or shop, where a reverend commission-broker constantly attended, ready to deliver from his purified hands each wonder-

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der-working article, to the different defcriptions of deluded Chriftians, who flocked in crowds to the ecclefiaftical market, in the pious hope of purchafing health, cures, and interceffions from faints; and, dare I repeat the execrable profanation? remiffion of fins, and the releafe of pounded fouls in purgatory from Heaven! This fraudulent, this blafphemous barter, Mr. Burke feems anxious to preferve, under the flimfy, ftale, and artful pretext, that all eftablifhments ought to be held facred. If this man was in his dotage, I could account for his abfurdities, contradictions, and even for his mifchievous fallies, in the imbecilities of a mind driven to defpair, and worn out by its own irritations; but he pretends to fanity, Sir, and he may be confidered as fane, as long as he is fuffered to go about at large and without a keeper. Admitting then that he perfectly underftands what he is doing, and that he is fincere in his *prefent* opinions, it is evident that he has no objections to the difhonourable traffic that enriches knaves at the expence of fools, and which has had no inconfiderable fhare in corrupting the morals of Europe. He does not feel fhocked nor fcandalized at the impious effrontery of a prieft ftanding proxy for the Divinity, and making God give the lie to his own commandments! Virtue compromifing with vice, and the bounty of Heaven put up

to public auction, have nothing in them to ſhock or offend the piety of Mr. Burke; even murder, the moſt atrocious of all crimes, and againſt which the irrevocable curſe of the Almighty ſtands regiſtered in ſacred writ, became licenſed, and even authorized and ſanctioned, whenever the church, always diſtreſſed or avaricious, found it convenient to her purpoſe to protect the aſſaſſin!

I will paſs over the ill-concealed debaucheries of the religious of both ſexes of the catholic religion, whoſe vows ſhould bind them to prayers, abſtinence, and chaſtity; I will forbear, in compaſſion to the refugee biſhops from France, all comments on the reiterated vows of chaſtity and celibacy, which the clergy of their perſuaſion voluntarily make in the face of Heaven, and as voluntarily violate in the face of their miſtreſſes; neither will I dwell on the well-authenticated tales of nuns and friars, from the very firſt eſtabliſhment of monaſteries, playing at Adam and Eve in their ſubterranean receſſes, running about from convent to convent, like rabbits in their burrows, and conſigning the wretched produce of their illicit amours, to a premature diſſolution, before nature had ripened the miſerable embryos into ſhape or exiſtence.

If Mr. Burke ſhould queſtion the truth of theſe facts, or if the myſteries of theſe pious brothels ſhould, peradventure, afford him any pleaſure in the recital, I refer him to his friends the French clergy in England, who can give him abundant information on all theſe topics. The facts that I have ſtated are too notorious to be denied—they are certainly too atrocious to be defended. Yet Mr. Burke, who is ſo anxious to preſerve the beauty, ſymmetry, and juſt proportions of the moral world, cries ſacrilege when it is attempted to purge theſe holy receptacles of accumulated filth; theſe vaults and caverns, above and under ground, where thoſe who are wedded to Chriſt, carry on an adulterous commerce with man. Mr. Burke tells us that they are ſacred depoſitories, never to be approached but with awe and veneration!

Mr. Burke, who declaims on the wholeſome properties of religion, its uſes, objects, and ultimate ends, with all the glow and vivid heat that belongs to an heart warm even to enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of virtue; Mr. Burke, who contends with frantic violence on the neceſſity of preſerving all the rites, forms, appendages, and multifarious abuſes of the Roman Catholic religion, as indiſpenſably connected with the peace, happineſs, and very exiſtence of civil ſo-

ciety; Mr. Burke, who would pervert our understandings and debauch our hearts, by the rich eloquence of his wonderfully well-gifted mind, has himſelf taught us to diſtruſt his ſincerity, and reject his opinions, not only from the little regard he has ſhewn through life for either, but from the indecency of maintaining that inſtitutions, known to be vicious and corrupt in principle as well as in practice, ſhould be held ſacred and conſecrated to all eternity; that no part of any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment is to be approached by unhallowed hands, or even gazed at, by profane eyes, and, leaſt of all, ſhould their abuſes be examined, leſt thoſe who would reform them, ſhould have leſs of the ſaint than the ſinner in them. Good God! my dear Sir, if ſuch arguments had prevailed in the days of Mary, the proper ſovereign for ſuch a ſubject! Leeds, Birmingham, Mancheſter, and all the great trading towns in England, would have been crammed with monaſteries inſtead of manufactories: our adventurous ſeamen, who proudly bring home the rich freights of a tributary world, would have been ſmooth-faced Recollects or bearded Capuchins; inſtead of the various orders of merit with which a juſt and diſcriminating monarch rewards valour in the field, wiſdom in the cabinet, and virtue every where elſe; we ſhould have been inſulted with a perpetual view of the ſix orders of mendicant

friars, with all the ſloth, vices, and irregularities, that follow in their foul and peſtilential train, they alone would have been known to us, and even Mr. Burke, the groſs libeller of the Duke of Bedford, and the fulſome panegyriſt of Lord Grenville; Mr. Burke, the intrepid champion of a nation's rights, at one period of his life, and a penſioned, ſervile, and degraded ſycophant at another, would, perhaps, have been a lazy, voluptuous Benedictine at Wooburn or St. Alban's, or a barefooted Carmelite with a crucifix in one hand and a ſtring of beads in the other, levying, as at preſent, but in a leſs productive way, contributions on the ſons and daughters of induſtry for his ſupport. What is it to the preſent age, and of what conſequence can it be to future ages, whether Luther was provoked to quarrel with Leo, becauſe he favoured the Dominicans with the ſale of indulgences inſtead of the Auguſtines? Are we to deny, or to reject the good that reſulted from the revolt, becauſe the motive was not abſolutely diſintereſted? What is it to us, or to our poſterity, that the jealouſy of a monk, and the wild and ungovernable luſt of a tyrant, produced thoſe greatly beneficial changes in the 15th and 16th centuries, which hiſtory, more juſt than Mr. Burke, has dignified with the honourable appellation of reform, and which, if he had lived in thoſe times, and been

been allowed to carve confiſcations for himſelf, his brothers, and his couſins, he would not, perhaps, have found fault with!

If the motives of men are to be ſcrutinized with that rigid ſeverity, which belongs only to that Being whoſe name appears to be very fluent in the mouth of Mr. Burke, while his precepts are neglected or forgotten, what judgment will an impartial and well-informed poſterity paſs on thoſe, which provoked the *Right Honourable* Gentleman, as he is called by courteſy, in direct oppoſition to fact, for the unrelenting fury with which he perſecuted Mr. Haſtings? The vices of Luther and of Henry ultimately tended to good; but what good has reſulted, nay, what good can reſult, from having purſued the Governor-General in India, for a ſeries of years, with all the ſavage ferocity of canine madneſs?

The victim fixed upon to glut the almoſt inſatiate rancour of his perſecutor, has been declared innocent, and Mr. Burke is compelled to bow to the verdict, which, in abſolving the accuſed, pronounces, in ſome degree, guilt on the accuſer. Would Mr. Burke wiſh the motives of *all* his actions to be tried by that ſpecies of *ex parte* evidence, upon which he pretends that the great changes that are perpetually taking place in the moral and political world,

ſhould

ſhould be pronounced ſalutary or pernicious? I do not think that he would acknowledge the juriſdiction of ſuch a court—he is certainly too well read in the hiſtory of human nature: he has been too long initiated, believe me, Sir, in all its vile and corrupt practices, and he is too well acquainted with all the curves, intricacies, ſubterfuges, and ſerpentine mazes of the heart, not to know that the motives of men are very various, very fluctuating, and, certainly, very unſafe rules for the meaſurement of human actions—aboliſh and univerſally efface all the vaſt variety of improvements, that have been made in legiſlation and mechanics, in the arts and in the ſciences, whoſe origin is baſtard or mongrel, that cannot produce a full and complete pedigree of motives pure and uncontaminated from the parent ſtock, ſuch as a college of heralds in High Germany, would be ſatisfied with; and then figure to yourſelf, Sir, what a dark, dreary, and deſolate waſte, Europe would be at this moment—what a very Greenland with reſpect to comfort, and how nearly allied its wretched inhabitants would be in ignorance and in manners, to the miſerable, ruthleſs, and ferocious natives of New Zealand! Sir, Mr. Burke knows, as well as you and I, that it is not fair, that it is illiberal, and that it may ſometimes be unjuſt, to queſtion the purity of men's motives, when they contend for

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any great and eſſential change in the conduct of human affairs—the very magnitude of the projected change is an argument in their favour, and if good is to be the reſult, why ſuſpect thoſe of ſiniſter intentions, who propoſed it? Believe me, Sir, that this ſtrenuous advocate for a *corps de nobleſſe*, in motives perfectly chapitralle, knew, that what he contended for, is not always to be had, and his object, be aſſured, was merely to obtain credit for a degree of purity, that he does not deſerve.

No man that has acted a part in the great drama of public life has demonſtrated more ſtrongly than Mr. Burke—

"That mens' faces are often wizards to their hearts!"

and when the maſk yields profit as well as ſport, no man enjoys the carnival with greater glee, whether it is held at Venice or in Weſtminſter Hall, at Beaconsfield, or at the Treaſury. Hence we may account for his being a Deiſt in 1756, a whig bordering upon Jacobiniſm in 1770—a confirmed republican in 1789—*whip preſto*, a furious royaliſt in 1790—and in 1796 a no leſs furious Jacobin. —Sir, all theſe tranſmigrations would have been laughable, but for the miſchiefs and misfortunes that have reſulted from them.

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The credit he acquired from his talents, invigorated an oppoſition which thought they could not do without him, while it was a part of their ſyſtem to perpetually worry and teaze miniſters, right or wrong; his importance, leſs real than aſſumed, rendered his acquiſition an object to government, and they had him, but he has only joined them, to diſhonour and perplex them.

I do not know, whether it was a part of his engagement, to ring changes on the abuſes of the French Revolution, until he deafened us with their clamour; but however he may affect to reprobate the theory of that philoſophy in France, which he pretends has excited ſo much horror and alarm in his breaſt, I am ſure that his conduct through life has ſavoured very ſtrongly of the practice. Leaving aſide the motives of mankind, into which it can anſwer no good purpoſe to wander, and with which, in fact, we have little or nothing to do; the only points for conſideration are, whether exiſting abuſes of any kind whatever, ought to receive the ſanction of poſitive written law, or the ſtill more venerable ſanction of preſcriptive right; and whether eſtabliſhments, notoriouſly injurious to public and private morals, of no poſſible good whatever to ſociety, but, on the contrary, evidently hurtful

in all their various operations, to the general interefts of the community, fhould be fuffered to remain? I have the authority of Mr. Burke, at one period of his life, for afferting, that they *ought not*—I have the fame authority, at another period, for afferting, that they ought to be venerated, and preferved in all their integrity to the very end of time!

It is due to the celebrity that he poffeffes, without enjoying it, and to the favour he has, at a very advanced age obtained, and never deferved, to inquire, which of the decifions it becomes a free and enlightened people to adopt? Take the authorities in the order of time that they have occured, and acknowledge, that in quoting Mr. Burke againft Mr. Burke, I do nothing more, than meafure juftice to him by his own ftandard of right, a ftandard from which, thank Heaven, he has no cognizable appeal in this world, whatever his faith, guaranteed by abfolution, may lead him to expect in the next!

I refpect the prejudices of the Right Hon. Gentleman, too much to banter him any longer on the indecent partiality which he has lately evinced for a *culte*, that tends to degrade the underftanding, and pervert the heart; I fhall fay little more to him, unlefs provoked, on the

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ſubject of a religion, which deſerves expulſion by its maxims, and which is fit only for tyrants and ſlaves—in which faith is every thing, and morals nothing; and which is as groſs an inſult to the common ſenſe of mankind, as it is injurious to virtue, and hoſtile to civil liberty.

To whatever cauſe Mr. Burke's predilection for this pantomime worſhip may be attributed, whether he ſeriouſly believes in the nonſenſe of tranſubſtantiation, and the other unintelligible dogmas, at which even faith, blind, docile, and flexible as it is, revolts, and reaſon ſpurns; or whether he would preſerve it as an inſtrument of ſtate to curb unruly ſpirits, and hold them in ſubjection to uſurped authority: in a word, whether Mr. Burke is a dupe or an accomplice, it is equally to be lamented, that he did not keep his promiſe, and remain in "*ſorrow and* " *obſcurity a deſolated old man, dead at once to* " *the affairs and pleaſures of this world.*" Without having exactly the ſame motive which he has aſſigned for courting obſcurity, and indulging in ſorrow, I had made up my mind, if not to quit the metropolis, at leaſt to remain a ſilent ſpectator of events, and to wait the final iſſue of a war, whoſe greateſt diſaſters have not yet reached us: many reaſons urged me to this deciſion. I perceived, that the part

I occaſionally took in politics, was frequently miſunderſtood, and ſtill more frequently miſrepreſented. The evils ariſing from the former are much eaſier remedied than thoſe which reſult from the latter; the one is paſſive, ready at any time to meaſure back its ground to the fair ſtandard of truth, and always diſpoſed to receive explanations; but the other is of a very different character, it is active, obdurate, and falſe, from principle; impatient of controul, and aided by malice and calumny, its ſets vindication at defiance. You will allow that no credit can reſult from contending with ſuch an adverſary.

If the intereſt that I take in the proſperity of my country, and the general happineſs of mankind, had been leſs ardent and ſincere, or if my own perſonal advantage had ever ſeriouſly occupied my attention, I ſhould have come forward with extreme circumſpection, and certainly in a manner to have advanced me in the eſteem of one party, in proportion as I became obnoxious to the other. But I am not a party man. I cannot deſcend to the frivolous detail of family compacts, and combinations of private perſons among individuals of the ſame community, for the purpoſe of acquiring, or rather of uſurping the whole power of the country for the benefit of themſelves and their aſſigns.

All

All this miſerable detail, of what may be called pariſh politics, is foreign to my taſte, habits, and purſuits; nor is the man, in my opinion, qualified to take any ſhare in public affairs, who has not more enlarged views, with a diſpoſition to reſiſt, and even to deſpiſe the little temporary diſtinctions and advantages, which ſervility might obtain in favor of vanity or pride. I have never, at any one period of my life, ſupported men in office but with the honeſt view, and humble hope of contributing (however trifling the quota) my poor contingency to the general ſtock of national grandeur and felicity. I was once credulous enough to believe, that all men who took a part in public affairs, acted under the ſame impulſe; experience, my dear Sir, has convinced me of my error, and it may poſſibly contribute to my future comfort, and, perhaps, to my ſecurity, that I am no longer under ſo dangerous a deluſion.

I remember once dining with a gentleman who was formerly in Parliament, and with whom I have lived in habits of familiar intercourſe; but he much ſhocked me by queſtioning the honeſty of all men in politics:—arguing from my own feelings, and referring him to my own hiſtory, I ſupported a contrary opinion.—Experience, however, has convinced

me,

me, that my friend, although far from being right to the full extent of his aſſertion, knew mankind much better than I did.

It is within every man's obſervation, and I ſincerely wiſh it was as generally reprobated as it is generally known, that the man who acts independent of party, has little chance of being attended to by either—both parties have an intereſt in decrying him, and if he attaches himſelf to one of them, every means will be employed by the other to diſcredit him. If from a love of order (and what well-conſtructed mind but muſt love it ?) he ſupports government, he is branded by oppoſition as venal ; and if on the other hand he oppoſes the meaſures of the crown from a love of right, he is declared to be factious or diſaffected. My very name, I believe, was unknown to the preſent Miniſter, when in the infancy of his adminiſtration, at a diſtance from this country, and with very little information, but what the public prints afforded me, I ſtood forward a volunteer in his ſupport : Mr. Fox had broke his word with the nation, and if I was diſguſted at his breach of promiſe to the country, it was not likely that I ſhould be leſs ſo at his coaleſcing with the man whom I ſtill think, he ought to have brought to public juſtice. The youth

of

of Mr. Pitt pleaded ſtrongly in his behalf, and as his arguments in favour of parliamentary reform, were as eloquent as they were concluſive, I gave him full credit for a degree of rectitude and good faith, equal to the aſtoniſhing force and ſplendor of his abilities. My affection for a meaſure which I have long had at heart, and which muſt ſooner or later be accompliſhed, if it is meant to ſave the conſtitution, for it is only by *reform* that *innovation* can be prevented, may, perhaps, have rendered me partial; yet, whether I have been miſtaken or correct in my opinion, my mind will ever cheerfully revert to thoſe epochs in his adminiſtration, which muſt enſure to him the affection of his country, while gratitude is ſomething more than a ſentiment among us. The ſhare that he had in trampling down a coalition which diſhonoured all parties, and endangered the peace of the kingdom; his Commercial Treaty, which many of thoſe who oppoſed it have ſince had the candor to approve; and his manly, dignified conduct at the time of the regency, when Parliament, faithful to its duty, ſtood between the Sovereign and the danger that menaced him, will ever entitle Mr. Pitt to the thanks of the nation, and to a conſiderable portion of its confidence and eſteem. This is the credit ſide, I own, but the account is fair and honourable;

able; it is within every man's recollection, and cannot be disputed.

It is not for the purpose of offering incense to the First Lord of the Treasury, that I have given this statement, for I am really very ill calculated to make my fortune by flattery; it is a pitiful and dishonourable road: but were I ever so well disposed to take it, Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding my good wishes towards him, is, however, the last man in the world to whom I would pay court. The gentlemen who are in the constant habits of opposing him may possibly doubt this fact; and the little credit that is given to political writing in general, is one among many other reasons, that decided me to withdraw myself from politics, or at least to remain silent, until my character was better known, the purity of those motives acknowledged, which have invariably influenced my conduct through life, and which can alone give efficacy to my exertions, or satisfaction to myself. I had communicated this intention to you, and several other friends; Mr. Burke has compelled me to change this resolution, necessary as it is to my repose, and to hazard myself once more on the turbulent and tempestuous ocean of politics; very contrary, indeed, to my wishes, and very repugnant to my feelings; but I am pledged, and must, in discharge

of

of an obligation contracted in March 1794,* come forward to notice another production from the pen of that gentleman, pray heaven it may be his laſt! whoſe rank and ſulphurous diſpoſition to miſchief, is likely to blaze, even to the laſt glimmering of his expiring lamp. Has he not already done this country ſufficient wrong, that he comes tottering back from the bleak confines of the ſepulchre, with fury in his haggard countenance, to enſure the ruin that he has left unfiniſhed, and blaſt us with the contagion of his poiſon? Is he not yet ſatiated, has his capacious ſtomach ſtill room for more, that he comes ſurcharged with bile, even from the extreme verge of eternity, ſtruggling with deſtiny, that calls him from the *pleaſures and affairs of this world* to ſorrow and repentance, but calls in vain? Can neither age nor misfortune, infirmity nor public execration, reſtrain this curſe and miſchief on the land, this fiend and lunatic, within his cell? Is the family of Monroe, or his ſucceſſors, no more? Has this man no kind friend, or faithful domeſtic, of ſufficient piety or courage to bind him in a ſtrait waiſtcoat, and make him harmleſs againſt his

* Vide a note at page 41, in the Letter addreſſed to the Duke of Grafton; at the end of which it is declared, that if ever Mr. Burke came forward again, I would meet him. He has come forward, and I have kept my word.

very nature? Sir, his very mind is out of joint, and he would render the times ſo if he could, that he might enjoy the mad banquet in its wildeſt perfection. This man, this ſtrange, this inexplicable compound of all that is captivating in genius, fluctuating in opinion, and moroſe, frantic, and ungovernable in temper; in whom the natural good qualities of the heart appear to have played the wanton with the very worſt qualities of the mind, and to have abandoned themſelves to all the irregular exceſſes of the moſt depraved proſtitution.—This being, unaſſimilated to every thing that has hitherto occurred in the variegated hiſtory of plants, animals, or foſſils, and who has been, even to this late period of his exiſtence, the friend and foe alternately of every man with whom he has acted in public life, diſdains the petty retail infamy of ſetting individuals at variance, and diſſolving, by force of cunning, old and long eſtabliſhed friendſhips. He has commenced, on the ſtrength and abundant reſources of his own richly productive mint of mind and contrivance, a wholeſale dealer in wrong, and ſtriking boldly at title deeds of every deſcription, throughout this wide-extended empire, tells alike the neceſſitous and unprincipled, ſuffering at this alarming moment under the double preſſure of war and famine, that in the vaſt property and landed eſtates of the Britiſh nobility,

bility, a remedy may be found, for all the multiplied evils annexed to poverty, and a contempt of moral rectitude.

The London Correfponding Society, reproached as it has been with fuch a defign, has ftopt very far fhort of Mr. Burke, and has never yet in any of its refolutions, or authenticated proceedings, pointed confifcations out to a fenfelefs rabble, as the means of alleviating their diftrefs, and refcuing them from want. It is full time that this man fhould be muzzled and hand-cuffed, or his wild fallies may endanger the ftate, and realife the fable of Sampfon and the Philiftines. It was the general hope that Mr. Burke would, on retiring from Parliament, have renounced all concern with politics; and that, as foon as his pecuniary difficulties were removed, he would have gone into abfolute retirement. Such, it was thought, would have been his refolve, and he had warranted this hope by feveral declarations to that effect. With a mind fo difpofed, baffled, but not corrected, in all its arrogant and impracticable, I will not fay, fanguinary projects, it was imagined that he would have fought refuge, not fo much from others whom he had deceived and deferted, as from himfelf, and the keen reproaches of his wounded mind and confcience. He even acknowledges that he left London for

ever, (would to God he had never ſeen it!) and that, "*devoted to obſcurity and ſorrow, he was* "*inſenſible at once to the affairs and pleaſures of* "*this world.*" Thus reſolved and thus reſigned, it was reaſonable to expect that he would have deſcended quietly to the tomb, without furniſhing freſh matter of regret to the few friends whom compaſſion has preſerved in tenderneſs to old friendſhips, or of triumph to his numerous enemies, which a vindictive, reſtleſs temper, as incorrigible as it is iraſcible, and which neither age nor misfortune can temper into diſcretion or humanity, have armed, as it were, in defence of liberty and right.

This lamentable old man, lamentable in every reſpect, continues to be wicked and miſchievous beyond the ordinary term allotted to vice. Every thing is abſorbed, enfeebled, or extinguiſhed in him but his rancour, and that ſtrikes deeper root, and blooms with brighter verdure in proportion as it ſhould wither and decay from age; envious of the laurel, with which genius would have marked and decorated his grave, it has finally grappled with, ſeized, and out-topped it; its noxious qualities corrode whatever comes within the ſphere of its putrid atmoſphere; its very touch imparts a rank and deadly poiſon, and what will ſcarce obtain currency with remote poſterity,

rity, the friendſhip of this forlorn and wretched being, ſeparated, cut off, and avoided by thoſe who once valued him, is ſtill more fatal than his hatred: it acts by contraries, and wounds even to death the hapleſs deluded victim in the embrace.

Thoſe with whom he lives in declared enmity, are leſs expoſed to the direful effects of his ever-active and ſelf-productive malice, than thoſe who admit him to their confidence! His very animoſity, vigilant, bitter, and relentleſs as it is, ſerves as a ſhield to thoſe who are the objects of his reſentment, while thoſe for whom he profeſſes affection or regard, or who ſubmit to be ſwayed by his councils, are loſt paſt redemption, and never fail to feel and lament the ſad effects of their miſtaken confidence.

This has been recently exemplified in the two greateſt inſtances of his public life, upon which he moſt piques himſelf; from the one, for which he boldly claims the *greateſt merit*; and from the other, for which he modeſtly contents himſelf with having received the *greateſt recompence*; it has been exemplified in a manner ſo evident and ſtrong, that it muſt force conviction on even the moſt prejudiced mind.

Mr.

Mr. Burke collected into the terrible focus of parliamentary rage, all the malignant rays which envy and resentment had exhaled from disappointed avarice, or ambition, in order to destroy, by their concentrated force, the persecuted object of his vindictive animosity, he was, however, foiled in the attempt, for what, let me ask you, has been the result of all his criminal virulence and industry? What ill has resulted to Mr. Hastings from all the mischievous skill and exertions, of the immense chemical laboratory of this man's ever fertile brains?—None. Let the mortifications and insults, let the malice and scurrilities be subtracted, that Mr. Hastings has received from his invulnerable antagonist, armed *cap à pie*, and doubly fenced by Lords and Commons, and Mr. Hastings is a gainer by the process. So much for the Enmity of Edmund Burke. Now for his Friendship.

Turn then, my dear Sir, I beseech you, to the other side of this man's ledger, and see how his account stands with those, with whom he has acted through life—with whom he has lived in the most familiar, confidential, and endearing intercourse—for whom he professed Affection, not Hatred—with whom he has lived in sworn and avowed amity; whose measures he approved, supported, and defended,

with all the vehemence natural to his character, and whom he conſtantly extolled and held forth to the nation, as objects of its deareſt hope and only refuge. What has been his conduct towards them? Behold them disjointed, broken, diſperſed, and ruined, at enmity with each other, and their conduct and principles ſcouted, reprobated, and pronounced culpable by the very man, that formerly admired and defended them. His FRIEND, Sir, the heir of Rockingham, is a living, melancholy evidence of this woeful, this afflicting truth! The ſplendid houſe of Fitzwilliam is eraſed from the rich chart of political influence, power, and credit; its noble owner is reduced to a cypher, and driven into exile in the very country where he was born, and where his exalted rank, fortune, and character would have inſured to him the conſequence he ought to poſſeſs, if he had not come in contact with that heir-loom which deſcended with his uncle's vaſt property, at once a burthen and a diſgrace to the inheritance! His Lordſhip, conſigned to a premature and unmerited obſcurity, is a ſad monument of all that is amiable and excellent in private life, being irretrievably loſt, and rendered uſeleſs to the ſtate, by an indiſcreet attachment to an unworthy object.

I behold his Lordſhip, ſorrowful and repentant, ſtanding in the penitential attitude of convicted folly—a kind of beacon, to warn other mariners embarked in the ſame perilous navigation, of the fatal rock upon which youth, honour, and genuine ſimplicity were unhappily wrecked. Mr. Wyndham might have profited by the diſaſter of his friend, but infatuation has rivetted him to ruin, and he muſt abide the iſſue.

Whether the Secretary at War is the next to be "*killed-off*," or whether he is preſerved by bloody Banquo for a *bonne bouche*, I know not, but if he ever fixed his fondeſt hopes on Norwich—if he even conſidered that city as his Eden, the gates of Paradiſe, he may be aſſured, are ſhut againſt him for ever, and for this mortifying expulſion, for this heavy, this afflicting and degrading curſe, he is indebted to his friend, his counſellor, and guide!

Under theſe various aſpects, ſome of them pleaſing, others offenſive, and all of them inſtructive, either negatively or poſitively, Mr. Burke has appeared to us at different periods of his life, exciting the contradictory ſenſations of eſteem, admiration, horror, and diſguſt: In a word, my dear Sir, he has travelled through the

twelve

twelve ſigns of the zodiac, and returned to the point from whence he departed, remains fixt to a certainty in ſcorpion.

In that edition of his works, which he ſays was publiſhed under the inſpection of a kind friend, and which he recommends as authentic, there is in the firſt volume a letter addreſſed to a noble Lord, of a very curious nature, as to its drift and argument, and which ſeems to be the avant courier to the falſe reaſoning, miſrepreſentations, and numberleſs contradictions, which abound in the reſt of the voluminous collection. Whether it is the production of Lord Bolingbrooke or of Mr. Burke,* the latter, by having given publicity to it, ſhould be reſponſible to ſociety for the effects it may produce. If he had refuted it as well as reprinted it, we might have pardoned the indiſcretion, in conſideration of the motive; but no attempt has been made to counteract the ill effects it might produce on uninformed or ill-diſpoſed minds. This gentleman, better ſkilled in poiſons than in antidotes, feels perhaps a parental affec-

* On inquiry find it was written by Mr. Burke, to ſhew his talent at imitation—he might have choſen another ſubject; at all events, he would have handled the one he did chuſe in a manner more conformable to his avowed ſentiments at this time, if he had always thought, as he wiſhes us to believe, he thinks at preſent.

tion for the former, and is anxious to preserve them from the mixture and contamination of the latter. Confidering, therefore, Mr. Burke as the publisher, and in that light full as culpable as the author of the letter addressed to an anonymous Lord, I shall submit to your recollection, to your cool dispassionate judgment, Sir, whether any thing ever issued from the Jacobin den at Paris, more hostile to aristocracy, to courts, to governments, and to all the various establishments, both civil and ecclesiastical, than what is contained in the following selections? If Mr. Burke should disclaim having written the two first articles, let him say for what purpose they take the right-hand of his own production, and stand foremost in the front of a series of less dangerous perversions of reason and genius?

BURKE VERSUS BURKE.

" Power gradually extirpates from the mind
" every humane and gentle virtue. Pity, be-
" nevolence, friendship, are things almost un-
" known in high stations. *Veræ amicitiæ ra-*
" *rissime inveniuntur in iis qui in honoribus reque*
" *publica versantur*, says Cicero, and, indeed,
" courts are the schools where cruelty, pride,
" diffi-

" diſſimulation, and treachery, are ſtudied and " taught in the moſt vicious perfection."

A Vindication of Natural Society. Burke's works, vol. i. p. 56.

" The poor, by their exceſſive labour, and " the rich, by their enormous luxury, are ſet " upon a level, and rendered equally ignorant " of any knowledge, which might conduce to " their happineſs. A diſmal view of the inte- " rior of all ſociety. The lower part broken " and ground down by the moſt cruel oppreſ- " ſion; and the rich, by their artificial me- " thod of life, bringing worſe evils on them- " ſelves than their tyranny could poſſibly in- " flict on thoſe below them. Very different is " the natural ſtate; here there are no wants " which nature gives, and in this ſtate men can " be ſenſible of no other wants, which are not " to be ſupplied by a very moderate degree of " labour. Therefore there is no ſlavery; nei- " ther is there any luxury, becauſe no ſingle " man can ſupply the materials of it.—Life is " ſimple, and therefore it is happy."

Ibid. p. 57.

" In caſes of tumult and diſorder, our law " has inveſted every man in ſome ſort with the " authority of a magiſtrate. *When the affairs " of the nation are diſtracted, private people*

 " *are*

" *are by the spirit of that law justified in step-*
" *ping a little out of their ordinary sphere. They*
" *enjoy a privilege of something more dignity and*
" *effect than that of idle lamentation over the ca-*
" *lamities of their country*; they may look into
" them narrowly; they may reason upon them
" liberally, and if they should be so fortunate
" as to discover the true source of the mischief,
" and to suggest any probable method of re-
" moving it, though they may displease the
" rulers of the day, they are certainly of service
" to the cause of government."

Thoughts on the present Discontents, by Edmund Burke, vol. i. *p.* 411 *and* 412.

" I am not one of those who think that the
" people are never in the wrong. They have
" been so, frequently and outrageously, both
" in other countries and in this. But I do say,
" that in all disputes between them and their
" rulers, the presumption is at least upon a par
" in favour of the people. Experience may
" perhaps justify me in going farther. Where
" popular discontents have been very preva-
" lent, it may well be affirmed and supported,
" that there has been generally something found
" amiss in the constitution, or in the conduct
" of government. The people have no interest
" in disorder; when they do wrong, it is their

" error, and not their crime; but with the go-
" verning part of the ſtate it is far otherwiſe.

" They certainly may act ill by deſign, as
" well as by miſtake, '*les revolutions qui arri-*
'*vent dans les grands etats ne ſont point un effet*
'*du hazard, ni du caprice des peuples. Rien ne*
'*revolte les grands d'un royaume comme un gou-*
'*vernement foible et derangé. Pour la populace,*
'*ce n'eſt jamais par envie d'attaquer qu'elle ſe*
'*ſouleve mais par impatience de ſouffrir.*'*
" Theſe are the words of a great man, of a mi-
" niſter of ſtate; and what he ſays of revolu-
" tions, is equally true of all great diſturbances."
Ibid. p. 416 *and* 417.

" If intemperately, unwiſely, fatally, you
" ſophiſticate and poiſon the very ſource of go-
" vernment, by urging ſubtle deductions and
" conſequences odious to thoſe you govern,
" from the unlimited and illimitable nature of
" ſupreme ſovereignty, you will teach them
" *(the Americans)* by theſe means, to call that
" ſovereignty itſelf in queſtion. When you
" drive him hard, the bear will ſurely turn
" upon his hunters. If that ſovereignty and
" their freedom cannot be reconciled, what
" will they do? They will caſt your ſovereignty

* Memoires de Sully, vol. i. p. 133.

" in

"in your face—no-body will be argued into
"flavery."

Mr. Burke on American Taxation, vol. i. *p.* 574.

"As things now ftand, every man, in pro-
"portion to his confequence at court, tends to
"add to the expences of the civil lift, by all
"manner of jobs, if not for himfelf, yet for his
"dependents. When the new plan is eftab-
"lifhed, thofe who are fuitors for jobs, will
"become the moft ftrenuous oppofers of them.
"They will have a common intereft with the
"minifter in public œconomy."

Burke's Works, vol. ii. *page* 259 *to* 263.

"*The people are the mafters. They have only*
"*to exprefs their wants at large and in grofs.*
"*We are the expert artifts; we are the fkilful*
"*workmen to fhape their defires into perfect form,*
"*and to fit the utenfil to the ufe.* They are
"the fufferers, they tell the fymptoms of the
"complaint; but we know the exact feat of the
"difeafe, and how to apply the remedy ac-
"cording to the rules of art. How fhocking
"would it be to fee us pervert our fkill into a
"finifter and fervile dexterity, for the purpofe
"of *evading our duty, and defrauding our em-*
"*ployers, who are our natural lords, of the object*
"*of their juft expectations. Ibid.* I have not, Sir,

"the

" the frantic preſumption to ſuppoſe, that this " plan contains in it the whole of what the pub- " lic has a right to expect, in the great work of " reformation they call for; indeed, it falls in- " finitely ſhort of it. It falls ſhort, even of my " own ideas. You will ſee how neceſſary it is " to review our military expences for ſome " years paſt, and, if poſſible, to bind up and " cloſe that bleeding artery of profuſion; but " that buſineſs alſo, I have reaſon to hope, will be " undertaken by abilities that are fully adequate " to it. Something muſt be deviſed (if poſſible) " to check the ruinous expences of elections. " Sir, all or moſt of theſe things muſt be done. " Every one muſt take his part. If we ſhould " be able by dexterity, or power, or intrigue, " TO DISAPPOINT THE EXPECTATIONS of our " conſtituents, what will it avail us? We ſhall " never be ſtrong or artful enough to parry, or " to put by the irreſiſtible demands of our ſitua- " tion; that ſituation calls upon us, and upon " our conſtituents too, with a voice which " will be heard." *Ibid.*

" The whole hope of reformation is at length " caſt upon us; and *let us not deceive the na-* " *tion which does us the honour to hope every* " *thing from our virtue.* If all the nation are " not equally forward to preſs this duty upon " us, yet be aſſured, that they all equally ex-

" pect:

" pect we ſhould perform it. The reſpectful
" ſilence of thoſe who wait upon your pleaſure,
" ought to be as powerful with you, as the call
" of thoſe who *require your ſervice as their*
" *right.* Some without doors affect to feel
" hurt for your dignity, becauſe they ſuppoſe
" that menaces are held to you: juſtify their
" good opinion by ſhewing that no menaces
" are neceſſary to ſtimulate you to your duty:
" but, Sir, whilſt we may ſympathize with
" them in one point, who ſympathize with us
" in another, *we ought to attend no leſs to*
" *thoſe who approach us like men, and who,*
" *in the guiſe of petitioners, ſpeak to us in the*
" *tone of a concealed authority: it is not wiſe*
" *to force them to ſpeak out more plainly, what*
" *they plainly mean: but the petitioners are*
" *violent—be it ſo; thoſe who are leaſt anxi-*
" *ous about your conduct, are not thoſe that*
" *love you moſt:* moderate affection and ſa-
" tiated enjoyment are cold and reſpectful;
" but an ardent and injured paſſion is tempered
" up with wrath, and grief, and ſhame, and
" conſcious worth, and the maddening ſenſe of
" violated right. A jealous lover lights his torch
" from the firebrands of the furies. *They*
" *who call upon you to belong wholly to the*
" *people, are thoſe who wiſh you to return to*
" *your proper home; to the ſphere of your duty,*
" *to the poſt of your honour, to the manſion-*

" *houſe*

"*house of all genuine, ſerene, and ſolid*
"*ſatisfaction*. We have furniſhed to the
"people of England (indeed we have) ſome
"real CAUSE OF JEALOUSY; let us leave that ſort
"of company, which, if it does not deſtroy
"our innocence, pollutes our honour; let us
"free ourſelves at once from every thing that
"can increaſe their ſuſpicions, and inflame
"their juſt reſentment; *let us caſt away from*
"*us, with a generous ſcorn, all the love tokens*
"*and ſymbols that we have been vain and*
"*light enough to accept: all the bracelets and*
"*ſnuff-boxes, and miniature pictures, and hair*
"*devices, and all the other adulterous trinkets,*
"*that are the pledges of your alienation, and*
"*the monuments of our ſhame*; let us return
"to our legitimate home, and all jars and all
"quarrels will be loſt in embraces; let the
"Commons in Parliament aſſembled be one
"and the ſame thing with the Commons at
"large, the diſtinctions that are made to ſepa-
"rate us are unnatural and wicked contri-
"vances; let us identify, let us incorporate
"ourſelves with the people; let us cut all the
"cables, and ſnap the chains which tie us to
"an unfaithful ſhore, and enter the friendly
"harbour, that ſhoots far out into the main
"its moles and jettees to receive us.—'War
"with the world, and *peace with our conſti-*
"*tuents*;' be this our motto and our principle;

 "then,

"then, indeed, we ſhall be truly great; re-
"ſpecting ourſelves, we ſhall be reſpected by
"the world; at preſent all is troubled, and
"cloudy, and diſtracted, and full of anger and
"turbulence both abroad and at home; but the
"air may be cleared by this ſtorm, and light
"and fertility may follow it; *let us give a faith-*
"*ful pledge to the people, that we honour,*
"*indeed, the crown, but that we belong to*
"*them; that we are their auxiliaries, and not*
"*their taſk-maſters; their fellow-labourers in*
"*the ſame vineyard, not lording over their*
"*rights, but helpers of their joy; that to tax*
"*them, is a grievance to ourſelves, but to cut*
"*off from our enjoyments to forward their's is*
"*the higheſt gratification we are capable of*
"*receiving.* I feel with comfort, that we are
"all warmed with theſe ſentiments, and while
"we are thus warm, I wiſh we may go directly
"and with a cheerful heart to this ſalutary
"work—(REFORM.)"

Burke's Speech on Œconomical Reform, vol. ii. *pages* 263, 264, 265.

Compare the ſentiments expreſſed, and the principles avowed, throughout the different ſelections I have made from the ſpeeches and writings of Mr. Burke, with what he has publiſhed ſubſequent to the ſubverſion of deſpotiſm in France; that is, ſince he ſeparated from

from thofe, with whom he has acted and lived; or rather (pardon my prolixity) fince his mercenary and interefted union with thofe whom he has vehemently and indecently oppofed through life, and fay, Sir, whether it is not the very extreme of impudent, unblufhing, and unfeeling arrogance, for this man to come forward to inftruct us in leffons of loyalty, morality, and religion?

Thefe are ftrong public facts, my dear Sir, to which I have alluded, well worthy of the ferious perufal of thofe, whofe eafy, unfufpecting tempers, incline them to think favourably of Mr. Burke, becaufe they have lived and acted with him in public, and been dazzled by the fplendor of his abilities—far greater objects not only claim, but imperioufly demand their attention, and what ought to be a queftion at all times with all mankind, whether thofe who pervert or proftitute the treafures of a vaftly rich-gifted mind, are worthy of credit and refpect, is more fo now than ever, becaufe in moments of revolution, or in times of great public difcontent, men of talents and ambition will come forward with fair pretenfions to captivate, feize, and hold public confidence in a ruinous and difgraceful bondage: if a diftruft of this nature of men, pretending to influence our opinions and direct our judgments,

is neceſſary, becauſe they are not known to us: if confidence, the legitimate offspring only of friendſhip and affection, ought not to be accorded until it has gone through the ordeal trial, which perſonal honour and ſecurity exact in ſelf-defence: if the fulleſt proofs of the moſt perfect rectitude and uniform conſiſtency are requiſite in the tranſactions of private life, how much more requiſite, and how much ſtronger, if poſſible, ought theſe proofs to be when the confidence to be given is connected with the proſperity of nations, and the happineſs of millions? How much more neceſſary is it, that the man who ſtands forward in the tempeſt and hurricane of public affairs, to guide, enlighten, and conduct us through the ſtorm, ſhould come recommended by all that honour and capacity can furniſh from their rich treaſures? How much more neceſſary is it, that the man who comes forward uninvited and of his own accord, ſhould alſo come decorated and equipped with all that honour, prudence, and ability can furniſh from the rich treaſure of their abundant and aggregated exchequer, before we reſign to him our opinions and our judgment, and eſpecially in times of great public diſcontent, when the mind has no reſting place, and all is fear, jealouſy, and alarm; when our energies are enfeebled, and our faculties, and even action itſelf, ſuſpended, or forced

 out

out of its proper, wholeſome, natural track? I am ſure, Sir, you will agree with me, that confidence, which ought under all circumſtances to be of ſlow and gradual growth, ought not be to expected at this moment without producing all the certificates which experience and well-nurtured reflection can furniſh; if then it would be deemed impudence or folly in any man to make ſuch pretenſions without ſuch teſtimonials; how much more arrogant and audacious is it in the man to come forward, and require us to reſign our judgment to his guidance, whoſe whole hiſtory reſembles a piece of moſaic work, to the full as ludicrous, as offenſive, and as exceptionable, as the one, which he deſcribes ſomewhere in his works, of an ill-aſſorted adminiſtration?

I leave to the retailers of ſcandal Sir, to thoſe who derive a precarious and diſhonourable maintenance by ſuch means, the taſk of private anecdote and hiſtory. It is not within my province.

All I contend for is, that it is extremely indecent, and not very judicious in any man to write, that is fallen, degraded, and loſt in the public opinion—the writings of ſuch a man cannot produce any beneficial effect either to the country or to its miniſters; and if the latter entertain ſuch a hope againſt the infallible

evidence

evidence of experience, and the natural operations of the human mind, they deceive themſelves, and ought not to be offended at the well-meant zeal, that appriſes them of their error.

Mr. Burke, by publiſhing his injudicious Reflections upon the French Revolution, and his ſtill more injudicious explanation of the principles of the Engliſh Revolution, in 1688, provoked Mr. Paine to aſſert the Rights of Man.

The popularity of Mr. Burke, never very great or very flattering at any period of his life, was conſiderably in the wane, when he attempted to direct, or rather to miſlead the public mind; it had recently felt, even to convulſion, that noble, generous glow of liberty; that ſympathy which, like electricity, ſtruck every man, excepting himſelf, from the higheſt to the loweſt, with rapture and with triumph: not a breaſt but glowed with the moſt lively ſympathetic joy at beholding France emancipate herſelf from ages of deſpotiſm, the rigors of which being leſſened, and the condition of the people meliorated, were owing entirely to the mild and beneficent character of the unfortunate monarch on the throne, who could give no other ſecurity than hope, and his own very excellent example, that his ſucceſſor would be as

amiable and as virtuous, as temperate and as juſt as himſelf—every body in the firſt inſtance admired the French Revolution; Mr. Burke alone condemned it! the Gentleman loves minorities, and he is likely to be gratified to the very extent of his wiſhes for the remainder of his life. It cannot be diſſembled, my dear Sir, that we are indebted to this man, and to a rabble of ſcribblers, that have yelped in uniſon with him, for all the execrable traſh that has been diſſeminated throughout the kingdom; but for the impolitic writings of the former, we ſhould never have been inſulted with the inflammatory productions of the latter; and ſurely, there was little wiſdom in trying the queſtion of ſtrength between the force of numbers, and the influence and authority of government. Examine the ſtate of the country, and aſk yourſelf what has been the reſult of the writings and efforts of the men who have pretended to ſupport the conſtitution, and to ſilence the banditti of libellers that aſſailed it? I am afraid you will find it to be too true, that they have in fact given birth, form, and conſiſtency to a ſociety formidable enough to have forced the legiſlature to the expediency of endeavouring to preſerve the conſtitution, by a temporary ſuſpenſion of our deareſt rights! and if it ſhould be ſo, it is evident that libels are not to be ſuppreſſed by libels. This has long been my opinion,

and it is ſeriouſly to be lamented, that an obvious truth in the Memoirs of Dumourier, has not yet occurred to thoſe who really wiſh well to government—" *Il eſt à remarquer, que preſque " tous les ſobriquets de factions ſont vils, et que cependant c'eſt preſque toujours la faction ſuperieure " en dignitè, qui les invente pour exprimer ſon mepris—il eſt à remarquer auſſi, qu'elle eſt preſque " toujours dans le cas de s'en repentir.*" After which he adds, " *Quant à l'appellation de ſans " culottes elle a eu des conſequences bien plus terribles " que celle des gueux des pays bas.*"*

I am no friend to the man, to his principles, or to his conduct, whom I have quoted; on the contrary, I deteſt his unexampled vanity and ambition, and deplore, with a very heavy and aching heart, the horrible crimes and devaſtations which they have produced, but an important truth is not to be rejected, on account of the perſon by whom it is pronounced.

I was at Paris when a paper called *L'Ami du Roi* no ſooner appeared, than it was oppoſed by another called *L'Ami du Peuple:* the conſequence was, that the editor of the former periſhed on a ſcaffold, and but for the virtuous enthuſiaſm of a female, the earth might ſtill have

* La Vie du Général Dumourier, tom. ii. p. 156.

have been vexed and dishonoured by the despicable, loathsome wretch that conducted the latter. Trust me, Sir, but these are bad, very bad resources, and especially on the eve of any great commotion, or in times of public tumult. A paper contest between the people and the government is a very dangerous expedient—government wages war upon unequal terms—"*It wars not only with reason and* "*with fact, perhaps, but with Bedlam and the* "*mint.*"—Besides, in such times Swiss writers are generally succeeded by Swiss of another description, and I have seen so much of the former in the different revolutions on the Continent, that I should not be surprised, in the event of a revolution in this country, which heaven forbid! to see Citizen Lee and Edmund Burke shake hands, and act as joint secretaries of state together.

I have dwelt on this subject the longer, Sir, because I am convinced of the ruinous consequences that must ultimately result to the country, if these writers are suffered by a mistaken opinion of their utility to have any considerable influence on the public opinion, or credit with ministers; in that case they will feel themselves of consequence; they will be courted by both parties, and finish by ultimately dictating to both. Mr. Burke, the field marshal of this army of mischievous in-

fects, has, at leaft in one inftance, made the attempt, and if I forbear to enter into particulars, it is, that I do not wifh to fpeak of myfelf more than is abfolutely neceffary. The reproach of egotifm does not belong to me. It is now time, my dear Sir, to examine a performance, the compofition of which is unworthy of the high literary reputation of its author—the ftatements of which are falfe and illiberal; its arguments weak, inclufive, and abfurd; and its drift, object, and defign, moft evidently mifchievous. It is impoffible that any man of a correct tafte can approve of the language; there is nothing of that ftrong and fplendid radiance which was once wont to vivify, charm, and illumine us—a feeble ray, feebly emitted—the laft fad effort of expiring genius now and then darts forth and fhews us what has been, by what is not!—a mere momentary blaze, like a candle burnt down to the focket, and like the candle's dying flame, becomes fainter and fainter at every ineffectual ftruggle to live a little longer! I am afraid, Sir, that the fimile will hold good to the laft, for I already fcent the offenfive wick.

Mr. Burke has appeared to us at different times in the different characters of philofopher, hiftorian, politician, œconomift, and poet.—To the firft of thefe he has proved a recreant

knight,

knight, even to an abhorrence of the very name: his preſent ill-will to abſtract reaſoning may poſſibly ariſe from the conviction he feels of the futility of human reaſoning, upon all ſubjects not connected with mathematics, or ſuſceptible of demonſtration. It may be ſo, but I rather ſuſpect it proceeds from an averſion to all ſpeculation, that is not profitable, and his own hiſtory is my authority.

I do not know whether he meant at the time to *bid for the office* at any future period, but I well remember reading, ſome where in his *Thoughts on the preſent Diſcontents*, that, "*when* "*an adverſe connection is to be deſtroyed, re-* "*courſe muſt be had, in order to accompliſh the* "*buſineſs, to ſome one belonging to it, who enjoys* "*the higheſt confidence of his party, by quar-* "*relling and breaking with his old friends.*" I beg, my dear Sir, that you will not miſunderſtand me. I hope that I ſhall not be miſunderſtood by the world at large, or ſuppoſed, by this alluſion, to throw even the moſt diſtant reflection on the conduct of miniſters; on the contrary, I hold their admitting Mr. Burke into their ranks to have been perfectly right. A prudent general will never reject an intelligent deſerter from an enemy's camp. Miniſters would have been juſtified even in the calm interval of peace and public felicity,

in enliſting ſuch a ſturdy recruit; but in times of turbulence and danger, when the moſt perfect unanimity was neceſſary, both in and out of Parliament, to the preſervation of the ſtate, it became their duty to receive him, and was, in fact, patriotiſm. They were not aware of the impoſſibility of bridling him, and that he would run them out of breath. I cannot ſuppoſe, that much art or deluſion was employed, to detach Mr. Burke from thoſe, with whom he had acted and lived all his life, and from whom nothing more was to be expected, not even the moſt diſtant proſpect of another impeachment to bring forward and conduct. The gentleman was decided by mere motives of vulgar, worldly prudence, which always render the charms, ſpells, and operations of ſorcery unneceſſary. Mr. Burke had well examined the ſtate of both markets; that which he had kept for many years, and that of his neighbours—alarmed at the barren, ſtarved miſerable appearance of the one, and enamoured with the rich luxuriancy of the other, he gathered up his beggarly account of empty ſieves and baſkets, and, trotting over to the other ſide, quitted penury for ever. It is evident, from the alacrity with which the gentleman *caſt off and changed hands*, and the agility with which he *croſſed over and figured in*, that he can yet

go

go down a dance to his liking. I do not, however, perceive, on a fair ſtatement of facts and cirumſtances, that any good has reſulted to Government from his acquiſition; yet, whatever his ſervices may amount to, and however conſiderable they may be in expectancy, he can certainly boaſt having had *value received* for all the ſervices he has ever performed. I have no perſonal animoſity to Mr. Burke—I do not feel envious of his good fortune, whatever I may do of thoſe ſplendid talents which all the world admires, and to which all the world pays a cheerful, ready, well-deſerved homage. My poor pretenſions could never come in competition with his proud claims, and to confeſs the truth, I am much better ſatisfied, from my love of eaſe and independence, with the humble mediocrity to which my inferior fortune and very inferior talents have condemned me, than I ſhould be in the leſs tranquil and certainly leſs comfortable blaze of affluence. I ſay this, in order to remove impreſſions, if any ſhould exiſt, or be excited, that I am ſtimulated to this ſevere inveſtigation of his conduct and principles by any other motives than thoſe which I have avowed, and which I feel to be laudable; with a ſtake as valuable in my eſtimation, and with an intereſt much greater, by being a much younger man, than Mr. Burke

can

can pretend to in the preservation of the constitution, with which order, personal liberty, security of property—in a word, private happiness and national honour are intimately blended and connected—it is as free for me, as it is for him, to canvass the measures of public men, and I have his own authority for saying, that in times like the present "*every* "*private man is by law a magistrate.*"

I have precisely the same kind of right to scrutinise, expose, and censure, what appears to be wrong in the motives and conduct of Mr. Burke, as he has to investigate, expose, and condemn the conduct of the Duke of Bedford or Lord Lauderdale. In doing this, I do nothing more than exercise the right of an Englishman; and in so doing, I virtually defend the rights of ALL Englishmen. Let me then, Sir, not be censured, either by ministers or by those who oppose them, while I am evidently influenced by a love of right, and a very anxious solicitude to preserve the public tranquillity, brought into hazard by the extravagant ravings of a man to whom, in my boyish days, when little conversant with the world, and still less so with the human heart, I looked up as an ornament to literature, and an honour to the country, but whom I now consider

as a very ferious national calamity, of very bitter tafte and wide extent.*

Mr. Burke and his Partifans have brought queftions into difcuffion which cannot be agitated without much hazard to the public peace, and which it is dangerous at all times to bring forward: they have ftepped beyond their competency, as well as beyond all prudence, and we fuffer for their prefumption and their indifcretion.

Such, Sir, have been the wretched effects of the writings of thofe whofe pretended attachment to the Government, favored very much of the exploded doctrines of Divine right and non-refiftance. What has been the iffue of an expenfive paper war, for years, but difgrace and defeat? Government, after a conteft unworthy of its dignity, in which pigmies would have ufurped the place of Atlas, have been compelled to abandon, in fome fort, the difgraceful warfare, and fly to parliament for fuccour.

* It will be thought, perhaps, that I have been too fevere, but thofe who may be difpofed to think my language too ftrong, are defired to recollect, the harfh fcurilities of Mr. Burke to others; and to recollect, that I did not purfue him to his retreat, but merely met him on the very ground where he has thrown the gauntlet.

It

It is not meant to give offence by these observations, but, on the contrary, to ensure to administration the full portion of that confidence it ought to have, and to which I wish to see it entitled, not as a favour, but as a right, founded on virtuous intentions, and a virtuous application of the means entrusted to them. It is by renovation only, that innovation can be prevented, and, when the innumerable calamities which invariably follow the train of the latter, are seriously considered, our aversion and alarm, for the consequences that may result from the former, will gradually subside, and be lost in the contemplation of perfect security, and much future peace and felicity. It is from this conviction, and with the view of doing good, that these observations are submitted to your reflection.

Acting under this impression, and warring at this very moment, perhaps, with my own personal interests, in a manner as to make those who are acquainted with the purity of my motives, and who are anxious for my welfare, tremble for my future ease and comfort, I may surely claim a favourable interpretation of my efforts and my warmth, when the cause I plead is that of liberty and my country! I thank them kindly for their solicitude, and am sensibly affected by their fears; but Mr. Burke, as an enemy to that liberty

berty which I adore, and as a miſchief to the country that I love, with a much more holy fervour than he can boaſt, is my FOE, and as ſuch I will purſue him, from a principle of duty, whatever conſequences may ultimately reſult to my perſon or my fortune. No man ever more paſſionately admired the rich eloquence of his ſplendid oratory, than I have done; no man laments more ſincerely that his talents ſhould not have been as beneficial as they were once captivating. As a poet giving full ſcope to wild fancy, and roving uncontrouled in his luxuriant garden of tropes, metaphors, and fictions, he raviſhes all hearts; had he confined himſelf to the bright ſummit of Parnaſſus, where he ſtood ſupremely eminent—had he contented himſelf with gathering the rich foliage from its exuberant parterres, and diſtributing, as he was wont to do, their variegated ſweets to a faſcinated world; or if in love with ſcience, he had ſtrayed among the academic groves of Greece, ſtudying the mild leſſons of philoſophy, and by practiſing what he ſtudied, have taught us virtue by example, the name of Burke would have deſcended to the lateſt poſterity, with thoſe of Shakeſpeare and of Ariſtotle, the idol of this country, and the proud boaſt of his own! But the bard and the philoſopher, are loſt in the politician without rectitude, and in the bigot

without mercy. He has quitted the lyceum for the ſhambles, and rivalling Legendre, in his diſcarded profeſſion, ſpeaks as ſcientifically of "*cutting up, and of the tallow on the cawl* "*and kidneys*,"* as if he had been educated a butcher from his earlieſt infancy. Inſtead of being an ornament to the nation, as we had reaſon to expect, where nature had been generous even to profuſion, inſtead of giving wholeſome employment and a proper direction to the faculties of a mind ſtill vehement and active, he is, though not exactly in the ſenſe he deſcribes himſelf to be, "*a deſolate old man*;" but old and deſolate as he is, he would yet tear us, if his fangs had not happily loſt their force and elaſticity.

Does Mr. Burke mean to beſpeak our compaſſion, and to arreſt our reſentment, when he calls himſelf a *deſolate old man?* If he does, he ſhould be told, that it is very unbecoming in an old man to turn gladiator, and ſtill more ſo to challenge all the world to fight him with broad ſword or back ſword, ſingle rapier, double rapier, cudgels, or quarterſtaff. Look at his wan figure, I beſeech you, Sir, truſſed up and armed *cap-à-pie*, in the arene, ready for the combat, and nobody to

* Vide Mr. Burke's Letter to a Noble Lord.

fight

fight with him—playing about him like a very fury, and quarrelling with all mankind that are not as mad as himſelf. Such, my dear Sir, is the "*deſolate old man*," who tells us that he has retired to "*ſorrow and obſcu-*"*rity, dead at once to the affairs and pleaſures* "*of the world!*" Tell me, Sir, if in the courſe of your long experience, you ever remember an aſſertion ſo evidently falſe, and then ſay, whether ſuch a man deſerves mercy or indulgence? A *deſolate old man* has no buſineſs on a public ſtage, except in the fictions of the theatre, or as an object of charity. In the latter character he has already appeared, and having been charitably relieved, he ſhould withdraw. His preſence is an intruſion. But when this "*deſolated old man*" ſays he has "*taken his leave of* "*London for ever,*" that he is "*in ſorrow and* "*obſcurity, retired and dead to the affairs and* "*pleaſures of this world,*" at the very inſtant that he is gratifying his natural malignity of temper, and giving audience to printers devils in Harley Street, what elſe can we think of him, but that he is an impoſtor, unworthy of the alms he has obtained, and of the compaſſion he implores? But to the point. The performance of this officious and diſſatisfied old man, commences with an inſinuation, not very decent or juſt, againſt the

Duke of Bedford (whom he would aſſimilate to that curſe and opprobrium of France, the Duke of Orleans) and, with a very fulſome compliment indeed to Lord Grenville, at which I am ſure his Lordſhip muſt have bluſhed; I am as ready as any man, to pay full meaſure of praiſe to fair and honeſt deſert; I am not leſs diſpoſed than Mr. Burke, to think well and to ſpeak well of Lord Grenville, or any other man, whenever the panegyric is authorized by the fact, and being almoſt as competent to decide on the character and capacity of the Noble Lord, I feel hurt at the awkward poſition in which he has been placed by the premature compliments of his abject eulogiſt, who would probably have ſaid preciſely the ſame handſome things of Sir Watkin Lewes, if Sir Watkin Lewes had been ſecretary of ſtate.

Mr. Burke is a perfect adept in the very lucrative ſcience of flattery; but the vanity that can be pleaſed with the praiſe of ſuch a man muſt be very exorbitant indeed! How fortunate it is that the grave conceals the bluſhes of Lord Keppel! Mr. Burke has introduced a new method of propheſying; he pronounces decidedly, what part the gallant admiral would take in the great public queſtions of the day, if he were alive. It is, perhaps, only on ſuch

occaſions

occaſions as theſe, that the aſſertions of Mr. Burke do not riſque contradiction. If Mr. Fox had deſcended to the tomb of his anceſtors, before the French revolution happened, I have no doubt but his quondam friend would have as pathetically deplored the loſs of ſo much civic virtue and ability, and have allotted to Mr. Fox a part very different to what we have ſeen him take. What a misfortune it is that Mr. Fox, by having ſurvived the admiral ſo long, ſhould be deprived of his full portion of *quantum meruit*, when the juror on the inqueſt would have been ſo extremely liberal and profuſe! Death, at no future period of his life, can now inſure to him ſuch an epitaph as he would certainly have had, if he had happily died in time. But I forget myſelf: it is time that pleaſantry ſhould give place to ſobriety, and I am once more ſerious.

The motion announced in the early part of the preſent ſeſſion, by the Duke of Bedford or Lord Lauderdale, the purport of which is to inquire into the nature of a penſion granted to Mr. Burke, has produced a pamphlet from that gentleman, which in other times would have drawn on it a very ſtrong parliamentary cenſure, if not a proſecution, for he brands, by implication, the motion as a libel on his character. He ſays (page 7) that "*looſe libels*

"*ought*

"*ought to be paſſed by in ſilence and contempt. By*
"*me they have been ſo always. But when they*
"*derive an importance from the rank of the per-*
"*ſon they come from, and the gravity of the place*
"*where they are uttered, in ſome way or other I*
"*ought to take notice of them.*" Such, my good Sir, is the reaſon alledged by the gentleman for coming forward. The firſt part of the ſtatement is not exactly conformable to truth; indeed the gentleman is very apt to fly off in a direct tangent from truth, whenever it ſuits his purpoſe: he conſiders himſelf as a kind of privileged perſon, and ſeems to have provided an excuſe for the falſehoods he utters, by informing us, that "*It is the nature of all greatneſs not to be* EXACT."* If by "*looſe libels*" he means whatever has been ſaid againſt him *out* of Parliament, I would aſk him, if he treated thoſe ſtrictures on his conduct which are annexed to the letters addreſſed to the Duke of Grafton and Lord Stanhope, with that "*ſilent contempt*" which he pretends? I am, perhaps, better informed on this occaſion than he ſuſpects, not from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with whom I have never converſed ſince the year 1793, either on that or any other ſubject, or from any perſon connected with him; but having it from

* Burke's Speech on American Taxation, Vol. i. p. 542.

unqueſ-

unqueſtionable authority, I will aſk Mr. Burke if he did not wait on the Miniſter, and make uſe of language that did not become either of the parties concerned, to hear or utter?

I hope Mr. Burke will not force me to be more explicit. It is plain that he totally miſunderſtood my ſituation and my character, and if I have brought this "*deſolate old man*" forward on my own account, it is merely by way of reproof, for his having quitted his "*retreat*," to calumniate, and injure me, if I had been as abject and as dependent in my mind, as he is vindictive and unforgiving in his temper. Mr. Burke, the inquiſitor-general, as Anarcharſis Cloots was the orator-general of the human race, cries out moſt vociferouſly, if any one preſumes to hold an "*inqueſt on his quantum meruit.*"

It is probable, however, that he was on the inqueſt when his own "*quantum meruit*" was aſcertained, and when you enumerate the vaſt ſervices he has recorded, and pretends to have performed: when you recollect all that he has ſaid of himſelf, and believe him to be "EXACT," *in ſpite of greatneſs*, you will even then, Sir, confeſs that he has allowed himſelf full and ample reward for all the ſervices he can poſſibly have *performed.*

This man, who arrogates to himſelf the right, and really exerciſes it, of amputating, cutting up, ſlaying, hewing, ſlaſhing, and anatomiſing inſtitutions, eſtabliſhments, miniſters, admirals, and generals, is in violent hyſterics the very inſtant that the probe is pointed wards his own boſom, and in the delirium of rage and fear, exclaims that the ſurgeon is an hired aſſaſſin! What does the conduct of Mr. Burke towards the Duke of Bedford and Lord Lauderdale in fact amount to, but a direct denial of their right to inquire into the nature of the penſion which has been granted him by the Crown? It is not for me to pronounce on the *quantum meruit* which has obtained him ſuch large reward. I do not feel myſelf competent to diſcuſs the queſtion, and ſtill leſs does it become me, to give an opinion on a matter which is to be argued, where only ſuch matters can be noticed with effect; but by this attack on the noble Lords above mentioned, for a meaſure juſtified by the uſages of Parliament, and forming a part of their duty, as truſtees to the public, it is evident that Mr. Burke, become a judge and party in his own cauſe, would wreſt from the Houſe of Peers that ſuperintending controul over the public expenditure, which he acknow-

ledges

ledges to belong of right to the Houſe of Lords, and never to have been denied it.*

I do not know in what light other gentlemen conſider that part of the letter which relates to the propoſed inquiry, but to me it appears to be a direct, unqualified attack on the inquiſitorial power of the Peers, and a virtual denial of any right in Parliament itſelf to inveſtigate the propriety of grants and penſions. I have no reaſon to believe that I am a favourite with that party, from whom Mr. Burke has ſeparated, it is impoſſible that I can be, and I can aſſure him that I will never ſeek their favor by *ſervility* to them, or by *treachery* to others. But whether the noble Duke and Lord in queſtion, are ſtimulated by a ſenſe of duty, or by perſonal reſentment to the individual, to inſtitute this inquiry, their right to inſtitute it is incontrovertible, and leaſt of all does it become the object of that inquiry, however he may be expoſed, or affected by the event, to queſtion that right.

* "*A power of examining accounts, to cenſure, correct,*
"*and puniſh, we never, that I know of, have thought of de-*
"*nying it to the Houſe of Lords.*"

Speech of Mr. Burke on Œconomical Reform in the Houſe of Commons. Vide his Works, vol. ii. p. 263.

Mr. Burke does not tell the Duke of Bedford or Lord Lauderdale in plain direct terms that they, as Peers of Parliament, have no right to examine accounts; he contents himſelf with abuſing them for announcing ſuch an intention, and attempts to deter * them by a ſpecies of recrimination very novel in its nature, very indecent, as well as unjuſt in its application, and which may have an operation that I hope was never ſeriouſly in his contemplation, for it goes to ſhake the whole landed property in the three kingdoms. If no title deeds are to be valid, that cannot trace their ſource, pure and undefiled by fraud or rapine, through the vaſt ſucceſſive ages of the world up to the original donation from Adam or from Noah, no man's property is ſecure; or if confiſcations or unfair means, many centuries back, and practiſed in the days of chivalry, ſo rapturouſly admired, and ſo rapturouſly ſung by Mr. Burke, are to vitiate the titles of the preſent owners, and diſpoſſeſs them of their property, and to place them preciſely in the ſame condition as thoſe whoſe motto is "*nitor in adverſum*," † before they ſoared from beggary; I have only to ſay, that the objections he has made to the Ruſ-

* If ſuch was his intention he has ſucceeded moſt completely.

† Vide the Letter to a Noble Lord, by Edmund Burke, p. 29.

sel family, applies with equal force to the three great houses of Cavendish, Fitzwilliam, and Bentinck; all of whom, as well as his Grace of Bedford, owe their immense property to confiscations and enormous grants, and who were, like him, as Mr. Burke very gratefully, and at this moment no *less prudently* expresses it, "*rocked and dandled into legislators.*" This is no bad comment on the mischievous text of Mr. Paine, which ridicules the idea of an hereditary legislator, as being to the full as absurd, as an hereditary mathematician.

On this subject I forbear to expatiate; however pure and remote the *genealogy* may be, that Beaconsfield can produce of its virtuous and honourable descent to its present, no less *virtuous* and *honourable*, possessor, I know not; it is the province of heralds and conveyancers to investigate such matters, and they may make the inquiry if they think proper.

I shall only observe, that the Duke of Devonshire would not be well pleased to have his right to the inheritance he holds in Derbyshire, tried by the ordeal which his friend has obliquely hinted can alone *legalize* the tenure. I do not think that the noble Lord in voluntary exile in his native land, would feel easy if the origin of his property in a country, the sceptre

of which he no ſooner acquired than loſt, was to be tried by the ſame rule. The Duke of Portland to a certainty would object to it; the rapacity of his anceſtor, and the prodigality of King William, diſputed the prize of ſwiftneſs. Only conceive, Sir, a couple of Dutchmen in treblefold breeches, and buttons as broad as turnpike roads, running a race with each other. Nothing in nature could be more abſurd, no farce half ſo laughable! Sir, theſe two gentlemen became ſo frolickſome at laſt, and ſo very much enamoured with theſe kind of races, (though neither of them had any thing to pay if they loſt) that the legiſlature * was under the neceſſity of interdicting the ſport, leſt thoſe who alone paid the loſings, without having any ſhare in the fun, and who were ſcarce allowed to look on, ſhould be ruined.

Sir, we ſtumble upon grants from the Crown at every corner and at every moment, at the weſt end of the town; and take a northern direction from almoſt any part of Oxford-ſtreet, and you muſt climb over them to get to the end of your journey. I mean no offence to the Duke of Portland in ſtating this, nor ſhould I

* Vide Smollet's Continuation of the Hiſtory of England, vol. i. ſect. 25. p. 253. and the Journals of Parliament.

think

think the right, to his numerous poſſeſſions more valid, if he could produce rolls of parchment as far back as the creation. Conformable with this ſentiment, he ſhall find me in the moment of danger (ſhould ſuch an event unfortunately happen in my time) to the full as ready, and certainly much more capable, to defend his property and maintain his rights, as the man he has taken to his boſom.

This is a ſubject upon which Mr. Burke, more than all other men, would certainly have been ſilent, if he had either gratitude or prudence. It muſt be known to him, that he cannot ſhake Bedford Houſe, without demoliſhing Burlington Houſe. Welbeck and Woburn will fall together; but the ſacrifice of friends, when the ruin of an enemy is to be accompliſhed, is perhaps of no conſequence in his eſtimation.— Let me aſk you, Sir, what analogy there is between grants and penſions, and why ſhould the former be brought upon the carpet, becauſe the latter have been mentioned in *his* particular and excluſive caſe, in Parliament? The former, valuable as they have proved to their preſent proprietors, have been ſtill more beneficial to the country. They have enriched the ſtate in a ſtill greater degree, than they have benefitted individuals; and

and if they were orginally given to favourites, and to men of opulence, I see nothing wrong in such a selection, since in those days of barbarism, it was only men of opulence who could give activity, vigour, and effect to honest indigent industry. Besides, Sir, these lands, portioned out to different individuals, have also contributed to strengthen the foundations of civil liberty; we owe not only a considerable share of that immense wealth and splendor, which makes us the admiration and envy of surrounding nations, but the total extinction of regal and ecclesiastical tyranny, of which this man, in the very impotence of age, and without capacity to enjoy either, is become so wretchedly, and so ludicrously enamoured. I leave you to judge, Sir, what would have been the state of this country, if the crown had held all these confiscated estates in its possession, and whether Britons would have had to boast of a Bill of Rights, and the expulsion of the Stuart family. Pensions have no such proud pretensions to public favour. We all know that the Sovereign ought to be invested with ample means to reward every description of public worth and merit. Nor can the trust be in safer hands, but grants of land are not like pensions, a perpetual tax on industry. The former, improved by cultivation, or converted from barren wastes, into commercial towns and cities, diffuses riches, health,

and

and vigour throughout the empire, in a variety of ways, and among all deſcriptions of men; but the latter are nothing more than the aggregate farthings and pence extracted, by the means of the cuſtoms and exciſe, from the pockets of the labouring poor, as well as from the affluent, and are meant merely to adminiſter to the comfort, or to relieve the neceſſities of indigent deſert. The objection, therefore, to the property of the Duke of Bedford, improved into its preſent value by induſtry, œconomy, and expenſive cultivation, proves nothing but the envy of the inſulated being, who would, by an attack, as cowardly as unjuſt, intimidate a Peer of Parliament from diſcharging a duty he owes to his country, and exerciſing a right to which he is entitled by the Conſtitution. Let Mr. Burke, who is ſo penurious to others, and ſo munificent to himſelf, and who has the indecency, or rather indiſcretion, to publicly reprobate enormous grants from the Crown in dark and unenlightened times; let this man, ſo tenacious of every thing that relates to himſelf, and ſo mercileſs towards others, look down from Hampſtead on what may be called New London, and which rivals the Old, in ſplendor, opulence, and extent; a nation's pride and ſuccour! let him behold the magnificent ſquares that abound between Bloomſbury and Paddington, and ſay if the grants to which they owe their exiſtence, have not added to the

the wealth, beauty, and ſtrength of the metropolis? Let him behold the numerous edifices that greet his jaundiced eye in every direction, whenever he traverſes this immenſe, this wonderful town, the emporium of the world! and ſay if there was either wiſdom or juſtice in arraigning of *that* which has been productive of ſo much public utility and private comfort? And is it for this man, Sir, to call in queſtion the juſtice of thoſe grants, and the legality of the tenures by which they have deſcended to their preſent proprietors? Let him travel weſtwards, and behold Taviſtock inhabited by uſeful manufacturers, and not by cloiſtered ſlothful ideots, whoſe monaſteries he would preſerve, perhaps reſtore, and ſay which of the two deſcriptions of men are the more uſeful to ſociety? Have penſions the ſame operation? No; for it is not meant they ſhould, they ſeldom extend beyond one life, and cannot well be applied to purpoſes of national improvements; for their avowed and proper object is, to reward or relieve indignant merit; if the gentleman, however, ſhould feel ſo diſpoſed, he may give the firſt inſtance of the kind by devoting a part of what he has obtained from the munificence of a gracious and forgiving Prince,*
and

* "*But, did they recollect that they were talking of a*
"*ſick King, of a Monarch ſmitten by the hand of Omni-*

 "*potence,*

and from which ſomething may certainly be ſpared, after adminiſtering to the wants "*of a* "*deſolate old man retired from the world, and* "*dead to all its pleaſures and its affairs!*" Will Mr. Burke prove to us, nay, Sir, can he prove to us, that there is any thing in common between *grants* and *penſions*, by which they can be compared and judged together? Surely he muſt know, that though they have one common origin, they have not one common nature; he muſt alſo know, Sir, that when the latter are *enormous*, and the perſon on whom they are beſtowed, *unworthy*, that they amount to a breach of truſt in the donor, and are a diſgrace to the receiver.

"*potence, and that the Almighty had hurled him from his* "*throne, and plunged him into a condition which drew* "*down upon him the pity of the meaneſt peaſant in his* "*kingdom?*"

Burke's Speech on the Regency, Monday, Feb. 9, 1789.

No man better knows than Mr. Burke the preciſe value between a Sovereign "*hurled from his throne by the hand of* "*Omnipotence,*" and a Sovereign happily fixed in the beſt and only deſirable throne, the hearts of a free and gallant people! A regency, Sir, in perſpective, illumined by the ſplendid rays of the riſing ſun, aided him to eſtimate the former, and all the world knows by what rule he has recently meaſured the exact proportions of the other.

The partiſans of Mr. Burke declare, that the principal object of his letter, addreſſed to a Noble Lord, was to forewarn the Duke of Bedford, that his conduct was hoſtile to his own intereſt, and dangerous to the ſtate; that the connections he had formed, and the line he has taken in politics, are unbecoming of his high rank and ſtation, and that Mr. Burke did well as a friend to Government, to cenſure what might produce ruin to the individual, and miſchief to the community.

Admitting theſe facts for the ſake of argument to be perfectly juſt, how comes it that his reſpect for the individual, whom it is pretended he would recall from error, and his patriotiſm, did not ſtimulate him to remonſtrate with his Grace before?

The Duke of Bedford has been in conſtant oppoſition to the meaſures of the Crown, and if that oppoſition had the dangerous tendency aſcribed to it, how comes it that it was not *ſooner* reprobated? How comes it that Mr. Burke's loyalty to the throne, and gratitude moſt amply due to its ſervants; how happens it, Sir, that the affection for this his "*dearer and* "*adopted country*," ſlept ſo ſound and ſo ſecure amidſt ſo much danger, and ſo many powerful calls on his vigilance, patriotiſm,

and exertions? How comes it, Sir, that it was not awakened until the propriety of granting him a penſion was queſtioned by the noble Duke, and that when it did awake him, his clamour was only about his penſion and himſelf, leſt what was ill deſerved, and profuſely given,* ſhould be wreſted from him by equity and legiſlative force? How comes it that the public weal, "*unmixed with baſer matter,*" was not alone the object of his defence? and, above all, how comes it that he entered into an impudent competition of merit with the Duke of Bedford, and libelled the whole Peerage of Britain, by repreſenting them as beings, that have been "*ſwaddled, rocked, and dandled into legiſlators?*"

I may be reproached, Sir, with being too perſonal, but have I been more ſo than Mr.

* Conſidering, that "*Mr. Burke has left London for ever, and that he is retired from the world and all its pleaſures and affairs,*" it is matter of ſurpriſe to what uſes *a deſolate old man in ſorrow and obſcurity* can poſſibly apply the following ſums:

	£.
A penſion for his own life and that of Mrs. Burke, on the civil liſt -	1200
A penſion for three lives out of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. fund - - -	1350
Another penſion for three lives out of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. for -	1150
	£ 3700

 Burke

Burke has been through life? Surely not, and to those who may say,

"Spare then the *person* and condemn the *vice*,"

I will answer, from the same authority——

"What, spare the *sharper* and condemn the *dice*!"

It is not, however, the possessions of a nobility, decidedly the most respectable in point of decorum, talents, and attainments in the world, that he questions, but their capacities to execute their legislative functions. Compare the insolent, the ungrateful sarcasm on the hereditary nobility of this country, his first and earliest benefactors, at whose heels he has *servilely spanieled through life*, and who have been in fact the fabricators of his fortune; of men by whose influence alone, he has been enabled to *ascend from adversity, and insult his betters*; of men, whom on a former occasion, before one of their dignified body profanely questioned his claim to distinction and reward, were represented by him, as "*pillars of the Corinthian order in the state.*"* What

* If Mr. Burke should attempt to come forward again the advocate of the British peerage, or of the great landed property of this country, they may retort the advice he gave to a gentleman whom he once violently opposed, "not who

What does he ſay of them in a letter addreſſed to a Noble Lord, who, by the concealment of his name, appears to be aſhamed of ſuch a correſpondent? He ſays, Sir, that they are "*ſwaddled, rocked, and dandled into legiſlators.*" Then follows (ſtrong proof of inſufferable vanity!) his boaſted motto, "*Nitor in adverſum;*" this alſo has a ſucceſſor in as arrogant a ſtatement of pretended ſervices rendered to the country as pride and impudence, in their fouleſt and moſt laſcivious embrace, ever engendered.

Sir, the gentleman is a profound logician; no man is better acquainted with all the nice intricacies, ſubtleties, quick turnings, windings, and double meanings in argument, than Mr. Burke. He has given us a ſyllogiſm perfect in

who has had the goodneſs, not only to forgive him, but to reward him.

"*There was, however, ſo much of malice in the Right "Honourable Gentleman's compaſſion, and ſo much of cen- "ſure in his lamentations, that he hoped the Right Ho- "nourable Gentleman would have the kindneſs to ſpare "his pity, and leave him out of his lamentations for the fu- "ture.*"

Burke's Speech in Anſwer to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Jan. 6, 1789.

Would to God he had! the advice was good, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have done well to have followed it,

all

all its parts—a major, a minor, and conclusion. Reflect, I beseech you, Sir, for you have a very large stake in the country, as well as a very sacred trust to discharge, and I know no man more worthy of the one, or less likely to abuse the other than yourself, what the fair interpretation is, *of the baby transformed into a legislator*; and *the wonderful services said to be rendered to the state by the man* who insolently boasts that his motto is, "*Nitor in adversum?*" What is this but insinuating, and that in pretty broad terms, that men who may, like himself, have ascended from poverty, are much better qualified for legislators than those, on whom the laws and constitution of the country have conferred this high trust, in virtue of their high birth? The comparison between himself and the Duke of Bedford, will not admit of any other interpretation, and I leave you to judge, Sir, to what terrible consequences such an interpretation leads. The "*Corinthian pillars of the state*" no longer excite the gentleman's awe and admiration; they no longer merit his support; it would be a disgrace to his understanding to turn nurse in his dotage; it is to other hands that he would transfer the *cradle* that he once deigned to rock and worship! I shrewdly suspect, notwithstanding the full-dressed suit of foreign-spun loyalty that he sports on court days, high days, Sundays, and holidays,

holidays, that if he could ſnatch ſome forty years of life back, he would be as proud of going bare-breeched as the erranteſt ſans culotte in France; and that we ſhould ſee him marſhalling his troops at St. James's, and his banners proudly diſplaying, not "*nitor in adverſum*," but "*cui adhæreo præeſt.*" Both you and I, Sir, remember him a "*Preux Chevalier*" in the days of the American warfare, to him they were days of chivalry, and however he may diſguiſe it to the ſovereign whom he has inſulted, and who has proved himſelf to be a king in dignity, by overlooking it, and a Chriſtian in practice, by returning good for evil, I really do not think that our *gallant knight*, would have any very great averſion to a revolution, even at his time of life, provided he was allowed to conduct it.

Several pages are afterwards devoted to a comparative view of his pretenſions to reward, with thoſe of the Duke of Bedford's anceſtor; but the application is as unjuſt as it is indecent. If the anceſtor was living, and had complained that Mr. Burke had been *too largely recompenſed,* it might have been excuſable to have entered into the compariſon of their reſpective pretenſions; we ſhould then have known the exact value of the lands granted in the time of Henry the Eighth, and which can alone enable us to judge how much the grant exceeded in

value

value the penſion allotted to Mr. Burke; but the gentleman was aware of the dilemma in which ſo much candor would have involved him and avoided it. It is unneceſſary to inform you, that he commenced his ſtudies under the Jeſuits, and finiſhed them with the Sophiſts. I very much doubt, whether the original grant exceeded in value the ſums and penſions he has received at different periods. If it did not, his illiberal compariſon in another place, falls to the ground. The being whom he deſcribes to be an "*unwieldy Leviathan,*" is reduced to a ſhrimp, and if any gentleman will compare the value of lands in the middle of the 16th century, and at the cloſe of the preſent, they will be enabled to form a tolerable idea of Mr. Burke's malevolence, and of his talent at miſrepreſentation. I hope the Duke of Bedford has the good ſenſe and magnanimity to deſpiſe ſuch an adverſary.

This rich, poor old man, this intoxicated dotard, has been taught to believe, by the ſervile flatteries of thoſe who ſurround him, as well as by thoſe *little great* men who imagine they have an intereſt in holding him up as an *idol*, that his name will act as a taliſman on the public mind of Britain, and that all England will be charmed into an implicit confidence in whatever the *oracle* thinks proper

per to pronounce, however improbable, absurd, or contradictory it may ſeem! Sir, in the whole courſe of a life which, though not very far advanced on its journey, has, however, ſhewn me a vaſt variety of very whimſical characters, I do not remember to have ever met with ſo full-grown a ſpoiled child!

I very much doubt whether thoſe will be pleaſed; who have hitherto conſidered Mr. Burke as the prop of their titles, and the only dike between the criminal views of a lawleſs rabble, and the peaceable enjoyment of their lawful property, for having made ſo illiberal an attack on the Duke of Bedford. Mr. Burke muſt mean, that his Grace ought to be puniſhed for the faults of his anceſtor, or rather for the vices and ignorance of the times he lived in, and that the whole landed property belonging to the family, ought to be forfeited, or he means nothing: there is no argument if he does not, and the whole of his unmannerly ſcurrilities, the very abortion of revenge! are reduced to a mean, and pitiful enumeration of hiſtorical facts, long ſince gone down the current of oblivion, and which, if true, have no more relation with the propriety, or impropriety of granting a penſion to Mr. Burke, than the acknowledged mildneſs and equity of his preſent Majeſty's character, has with the ſavage ferocity of Henry the Eighth.

If Mr. Burke ſays, that the Duke of Bedford in 1796 ought to be puniſhed for the tranſgreſſions of Mr. Ruſſel in 1550, the ſame rule of puniſhment ought to hold good for others. If an innocent poſterity, is to be puniſhed for a guilty anceſtor, it is a fortunate circumſtance for the gentleman who would try all mankind by an *ex parte* evidence of his own contrivance, and condemn them on an *ex poſt facto* law of his own invention, that he has no children; they might, with every claim to a better fate, have come to the gallows. But theſe are puerilities, and but for their malevolence, would be unworthy of notice. I cannot dwell on ſuch nonſenſe. Crimes are perſonal, ſo ſhould the puniſhment be. The gentleman in queſtion, feeling for *himſelf*, may object, perhaps, to this doctrine: he may poſſibly have very ſubſtantial reaſons for objecting to the *practice*, but I defy him to diſprove the principle.

Let us analiſe the conduct of Mr. Burke, as it relates to himſelf, and the Duke of Bedford, and ſee the reſult of it.

A Peer of Parliament, gives notice in his place, that he means to inſtitute an inquiry into the propriety of a penſion, which he thinks *enormous*, and *perhaps illegally*, *as well as unworthily beſtowed*. The individual who is the

object of this inquiry, inſtantly anſwers, (where he is alone competent to anſwer, that is, in the ſtreets, and in bookſellers ſhops, that the entire landed property of the Noble Lord, was an iniquitous gift from a tyrant King, who trampled on juſtice and religion, and levelled all diſtinctions; a robbery, committed by the Sovereign, on one ſubject, in order to enrich another. *Ergo,* the Duke of Bedford had NO RIGHT to make ſuch a motion. Mr. Burke muſt mean, this or he means nothing. I will paſs over the glaring impropriety of Mr. Burke's bringing ſuch heavy charges forward, not ſo much againſt the monarch, as againſt *monarchy*; neither will I deſcend to notice the elaborate enumeration of impertinent egotiſms, in all of which he details, with great pomp and parade, his own multifarious claims to diſtinction and reward. If the merit of Mr. Burke is of that ſuperlative degree which he pretends, it required no foil; there was the leſs occaſion to have had recourſe to recrimination. His reading may have informed him, that in our municipal civil law, whoever recriminates, tacitly acknowledges their own guilt.

The motion is an implied cenſure on the Miniſter, for having recommended Mr. Burke to his Majeſty, as an object deſerving of royal favour; and ſome doubts are entertained that

the fund from which a part of his Majeſty's gracious bounty is furniſhed, cannot legally be applied to ſuch uſes. A motion is made to take theſe matters into conſideration. This, I conceive to be nearly the true ſtate of the caſe. The firſt queſtion to be examined is, whether a member of either Houſe of Parliament, has a right to bring ſuch matters, under the inquiſitorial power of the legiſlature? If the right is indubitable, and I do not think it can be proved to the contrary, it is impertinent to cenſure the Duke of Bedford or Lord Lauderdale, for the motion that has been made in the Houſe of Peers. In the man who was the object of *that* motion, it was ſomething more than impertinence. The part that Mr. Burke has taken, amounts, in my opinion, to a breach of privilege, and he may, perhaps, owe it to the clemency of thoſe whom he has inſulted, that he has not been transferred from *Beaconsfield* to *Newgate*. There is a fortune that attends ſome men through life, from the cradle to the grave, and which, by its ſecret pervading irreſiſtible influence, ſuſpends all the functions of criminal juſtice. Mr. Burke, alarmed at becoming an object of Parliamentary inveſtigation, reproaches the Duke of Bedford, with being deſcended from a man who lived in the middle of the 16th century, in other words, of having an anceſtor, and this anceſtor, he ſays, was acceſſary to the death

of the Duke of Buckingham, who had obtained lands by unfair means, and who gave up Boulogne, when Ambaſſador, to negotiate a peace with France, from which followed, as Mr. Burke aſſerts, the ſurrender of Calais. When a man quotes hiſtory, he ſhould be correct; inaccuracy proves ignorance, or malevolence. The Duke of Buckingham aſpired, as well as the late Duke of Orleans, to the throne, and fell, becauſe he had offended one of that claſs of men (Cardinal Wolſey) whom Mr. Burke is pleaſed to ſay ought to be *preſerved* and *reſpected*, as eminently pious and good, but who however, are ſeldom known to forgive. Mr. Ruſſel had as little to do with the murder of that nobleman, as Mr. Burke. I refer you, Sir, to the fourth volume of Hume's Hiſtory, page 27, * for the particulars. As to the affair of Boulogne, Mr. Burke has been long enough converſant with high official ſituations to know, that diplomatic men muſt be guided ſolely by the inſtructions they receive from their reſpective courts; that they are, or ought to be, in reſpect to *will*, though not in regard to *talents*, mere automa-

* Rapin is alſo ſilent on the ſubject, and all the hiſtorians that I have met with, attribute the fall of the Duke, to the implacable reſentment of the Cardinal. The aſſertion of Mr. Burke in contradiction to theſe authorities is a calumny, but admitting the fact, what affinity has it to the ſubject of his penſion?

tons,

tons, and that they have no reſponſibility, as to the buſineſs, upon which they are employed; but this gentleman has a paſſion for miſrepreſentation; he has a wonderful facility in torturing argument and twiſting facts, however ſtubborn, to anſwer his purpoſe: yet, admitting all that he has ſaid to be true, what does it prove, as to the propriety or impropriety of granting him a penſion? What kind of affinity have the offences of Mr. Ruſſel, who lived near three centuries ago, with the legality or illegality of the penſion on three lives granted to Mr. Burke?

Mr. Burke muſt be terribly afraid of receiving "*meaſure for meaſure*," or he would never have been ſo alarmed at the idea of his pretenſions becoming the ſubject of parliamentary debate. A conſiderable part of his very extraordinary and miſchievous performance, conſiſts in a repetition of coarſe and inſipid abuſe of the French revolution, of which I believe every body is heartily tired: the ſubject itſelf is odious and diſguſting. But to what good purpoſe can it tend to ring theſe changes perpetually in our ears? It ought really, Sir, to become a very ſerious queſtion with miniſters, how far it is prudent to ſuffer a man ſo cloſely connected with them, to abuſe a people with whom they muſt ſooner or later negotiate, and with whom they have in fact declared themſelves

ſelves ready to treat? From the countenance unfortunately given to this *worſt of incendiaries*, he is judged on the continent to poſſeſs a degree of credit that he does not deſerve, and an influence in our public councils, which I hope he will never obtain; for I am ſure he would abuſe it. He is not conſidered abroad "*as a* "*deſolate old man, retired from the world, and* "*dead at once to its pleaſures and affairs*;" they think very differently of him, and, that he is in full activity in the world, as capable, and as well diſpoſed to do miſchief, as ever he was, and while he is permitted to publiſh libels, and ſound the tocſin of carnage and univerſal warfare, they will believe, that his agency is countenanced, and that miniſters do not wiſh for peace. The crimes and horrible exceſſes which the ſucceſſive ſhort-lived factions of the hour in France have committed, are, and muſt ever be held in the ſtrongeſt deteſtation. We do not ſtand in need of Mr. Burke to demonſtrate their enormity, or to make us loath, what our honeſt natures muſt ever revolt at; but it is the gentleman's favourite carrion meal with which he feaſts and riots, morning, noon, and night. We underſtand the theory of morals to the full as well as he does, and in the practice of them, we certainly ſhall not take Mr. Burke for our model. As to the foul torrent of vulgar perſonal abuſe of the Duke of Bedford and

Lord

Lord Lauderdale, on the ſubject of their political opinions, it does not become me, for a variety of reaſons, to become their champion. I reſpect their rank and abilities too much, not to feel very ſincere and deep concern at their obſtinate attachment to an error, which it would be more manly and juſt in them to renounce, than to retain. I mean, as to the practicability of peace at this moment with France.

I have ſtated theſe particulars, not with a view to offend any deſcription of men, for indeed, Sir, I have no animoſity in my temper, but merely to engage them to union, for our common ſafety. The powers of algebra cannot calculate the force we ſhould derive at this moment from union. A parliament UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED to defend the honour, and maintain the intereſts of the country, until France ſhall be in a diſpoſition to reſpect both, would accompliſh wonders abroad, and it would inſure tranquillity at home; the experiment is at leaſt worth trying; in a word, Sir, the unanimity I recommend can alone produce that good, for which the gentlemen in oppoſition I believe very ſincerely contend. It is in fact the only lever that can lift and place the ineſtimable bleſſing of peace within our reach. Pray Heaven that this well-meant admonition, this fervent exhortation, partaking

of

of the very eſſence and ſublimity of all that is connected with patriotiſm, morals, and piety, may not be diſregarded; that thoſe who are in Parliament, and thoſe who are out of it, may *unite* and form a *firm phalanx* round the conſtitution; that they may cling, like the ivy to the oak, in this hour of uncertain warfare, to their common father, and their parent iſle! Exhibiting to an admiring and aſtoniſhed world, the glorious, animating, and inſtructive leſſon of a nation, riſing in magnanimity and in courage, in proportion to the danger that aſſails her! By ſuch a conduct we ſhall beſt prove that the "*conduct of France*" has been, not only in one reſpect, but in all reſpects, and in the full and moſt comprehenſive ſenſe of the word, "*a warning to Britain!*"

Concerned as I have been in ſome of the tranſactions of the times, and till lately in poſſeſſion of an extenſive correſpondence; acquainted, and in confidential communication with ſome of the principled actors in France, who only appeared on her crimſon ſtage, to make the ſtain ſtill deeper, and who paſſed *comme les ombres chinoiſes*, in rapid ſucceſſion, a head ſhorter for their elevation; I am enabled to ſpeak with certainty, to the cauſe and origin of the war, which it has always pained me to

fee fo much miftaken by fome, and fo indecently mifreprefented by others.

I affert a truth well known to many in both countries, that France fought hoftilities, almoft from the very moment that her unfortunate Monarch was dragged in fcornful triumph from Verfailles to the Tuilleries. All parties in Paris laboured to involve their nation in a war, with very different views I confefs, but their direction was the fame, and their zeal was in the extreme. The nobility and clergy wifhed war, as the only means of reinftating them in their prerogatives, their immunities, and gewgaws; the King was taught by the fucceffion of bad men and weak men, that approached him, to confider it as the means of reftoring him to the throne from which the fhock of the firft affembly had loofened, and in fome degree, even then, detached him; the moderate party defired war, as the means of crufhing an overbearing ariftocracy, and exterminating the Jacobins, whom they held in equal abhorrence, from the danger they had to fear from both, fhould either of them acquire the afcendancy; while the Jacobins, violent from principle, from their inaptitude for public bufinefs; their incurable fanguinary jealoufy of all the intermediate ranks, between the peafant and the throne, and their irregular fatal ambition to

direct the vaſt and complicated machine of government, ſo very much beyond not only their competence, but their comprehenſion, were as clamorous as the reſt for war, and were not eaſy until they obtained their wiſh and ruin.

The intrigues of all theſe deſcriptions of men are no longer confined to the port folios of foreign miniſters and ſecretaries of ſtate, and it is their publicity that makes me at a loſs to account, for the charge, which is perpetually advanced againſt adminiſtration with ſo much vehemence and injuſtice, of having provoked the war. Believe me, Sir, that it was not in the power of the miniſter to have avoided it; and it is but a tribute due to truth, to aſſert it. Acquainted as I am with the very ſanguine hopes that all parties entertained from the terrible calamity, into which they were impatient to plunge their hapleſs country, my ſurpriſe is, that the event, which Europe has ſo much reaſon to deplore, did not ſooner take place. Each party ſaw no other road to power, fortune, and preeminence, the ſole objects of their perſonal purſuits, but in hoſtilities. We all know, Sir, what powerful incentives to crimes, ſuch motives are: that theſe incentives become the ſtronger, in proportion as laws, manners, and religion, loſe their reſtrictive powers on the mind, and that

their effects are the more dreadful, when ſuch men have obtained the object of their ambition.

With reſpect to the ſubject of peace, I have only to ſay, that in the temper, in which France was in the beginning of January, it is impoſſible to encourage ſo pleaſing an hope. I do not believe that any mind in this country is ſo debaſed by meanneſs or deſpondency, as to be ready to conſent to *an abſolute ceſſion of all the conqueſts which have been made on France and Holland—a ſolemn and unequivocal aſſurance that we would not meddle with the government of Holland, or with any wars in which France might hereafter be engaged.* Yet theſe were the diſgraceful terms which were indirectly offered to Great Britain, and deſirable, nay, Sir, neceſſary as peace may be, I do not think that the gentleman who lately made a motion in the Houſe of Commons for peace, would venture, even if he was in power, to open a negotiation under preliminaries ſo degrading, inſulting, and impracticable. I am ſure the nation would not ſupport him in it if he did, and if it had compelled the miniſter to treat under ſuch humiliating circumſtances, what would it have been, in fact, my dear Sir, but to have delivered him over, bound hand and foot, to the mercy of the

French

French Directory, with the rich truſt committed to his charge of national honour and national proſperity; in which are involved our liberties, domeſtic felicity, and the whole of the invaluable and dear-bought inheritance, tranſmitted to us by our forefathers? Wheneverthoſe on the other ſide of the Channel are diſpoſed, and can venture themſelves on peace—*Car la paix eſt encore plus difficile à faire que la guerre et ſurtout pour la France*—I am well ſatisfied, that miniſters, ſenſible of the neceſſity of terminating a ruthleſs war, will cheerfully avail themſelves of the favourable opportunity; but their being well diſpoſed to make peace, is only an *advance* towards the deſirable event; it is not the *accompliſhment* of it: it is only half way; and unleſs France feels as well diſpoſed towards the ſame object as this country does, I really do not well ſee how the great, the ineſtimable bleſſing is to be obtained. This ſubject is very awful, and preſſes a number of very important conſiderations on my mind, but I forbear to trouble you with them at preſent, for I muſt already have exhauſted your patience, and abuſed your goodneſs.

I ſhall reſerve myſelf until I ſee what Mr. Burke has to ſay, in another pamphlet, with which he has menaced us, and which, by its title,

title, *(Regicide Peace)* * threatens to out-Herod all that he has ever yet written or ſaid, not forgetting the dagger ſcene in the Houſe of Commons. I would, however, much rather, that he remains quiet, not only for the tranquillity and honour of our country, but for my own particular repoſe. Deprived by that ſtern decree which tears aſunder the deareſt and ſtrongeſt ties of nature, of the companion of my youth, to middle age, and left to perform the worſt and moſt painful half of the journey of life by myſelf, I have little reliſh for what are called the pleaſures of the world; and having in a manner the ſame provocation to retirement, and the ſame cauſe of ſorrow, as Mr. Burke, I would alſo quit the metropolis, for a cottage and a garden, where I could be ſecure and happy.—Mr. Burke, believe me, Sir, is not the only man, who has to mourn the loſs of departed excellence!

The misfortune is, that his grief is not ſtrong enough to ſubdue the influence of habit;

* Thoſe who wiſh well to Mr. Burke, wiſh he would abandon his deſign, which they think will do harm. I believe that this opinion does not belong excluſively to his friends, the misfortune is that he is obſtinate, and has actually a French prieſt very buſily employed in tranſlating it into French from his own MSS. This French prieſt, with the reſt of this order, had better have ſpades in their hands, and learn to be uſeful.

but if his mind was capable of conviction against its prejudices; if it was disposed to receive good council, I would admonish him to crave pardon of an offended world, and make his peace with Heaven; he has no time to lose! He should confess, repent, and be forgiven, for the tomb awaits him!

I rely on your indulgence, my dear Sir, to pardon the many inaccuracies which must unavoidably occur in a letter evidently written in haste—whose object is to counteract a poison become the more dangerous from the unaccountable fashion of the moment, to consider Mr. Burke as the standard of truth, reason, and loyalty! It would be an endless labour to trace him through all the windings, and almost impenetrable labyrinths of his political history; but it surely can be of very little ultimate good to morals, to see such bare-faced apostacy honoured and rewarded!

Sir, my mind is weary with ruminating on the disgusting variety of inexplicable contradiction, which we behold in the conduct of human affairs: it is disgusted with the enmity that reigns, and with that ruinous and humiliating warfare which is everlastingly carried on between *precept* and *example*. We have one code of morals for *theory*, and another for *practice!* All this, perhaps, may be necessary,

to

to enable man to cozen man; but, ſurely, Sir, it is unjuſt that thoſe who have no ſuch deſign, and abhor ſuch means, ſhould become the victims of their infantine prejudices, and be puniſhed for adhering to the leſſons of morality which they learnt in the nurſery.

Mr. Burke has been the ſucceſsful apoſtle of a different religion, and he has practiſed what he taught;—I muſt, however, in juſtice to tranſcendent merit, confeſs, lamenting at the ſame time, that ſo much "*greatneſs*" ſhould have been diſhonoured by ſo much "*inexactneſs*," that he ſtands unrivalled in taſte, eloquence, and erudition: his mind is a rich ſtorehouſe of ideas, collected and treaſured up with wonderful care and induſtry; a vaſt magazine, containing all that antiquity had hoarded, and that modern times have produced.

I have not the arrogance to pretend to an equality with him in either of theſe reſpects, but, knowing the irreſiſtible ſuperiority of truth over falſehood, tergiverſations, and all the deſpicable arts of confirmed and well-practiſed cunning, I feel myſelf his ſuperior in argument, and dare confide in the good ſenſe and equity of my country for a verdict.

I have no doubt, but an outcry will be attempted againſt this publication, by the

partizans of Mr. Burke. They have the effrontery, Sir, to consider themselves as the best supporters of Government. I will never dispute their loyalty, but when they claim it as their exclusive property; I will give every man credit for wishing well to his country, although he may not think exactly as I do, of its ministers or of their opponents. To the partisans of Mr. Burke, and to those who know no other road to royal favour, than by servility and apostacy, I have nothing to say. I cannot descend to an altercation with people of that description, but of the world at large—of that independent world, with a mind capable of judging, and at liberty to decide—of that world, which may have fallen into the common error respecting Mr. Burke's force, purity, and importance, I have only to request the common justice that is due to all mankind—that they will read and reflect, before they pronounce, and allow me to repeat what was said on a far different occasion—"STRIKE, BUT HEAR!"

W. A. MILES.

To Henry Duncombe, Esq.

The following extracts from authentic records will prove, that Mr. BURKE *has brought a very ill-founded charge against the ancestor of the* DUKE *of* BEDFORD, *as far as it relates to the sacrifice of the* DUKE *of* BUCKINGHAM, *and the partition of his estates in the reign of* HENRY VIII.

AS to the profusion of that Monarch's grants to the Earl of Bedford, the only proper answer to that charge, is to compare those grants with the following from King William to the PORTLAND family.

Extract from JONES'S INDEX *to the* RECORDS *of Grants to the* BEDFORD *and* PORTLAND *Families.*

TO THE BEDFORD FAMILY, BY HENRY VIII.

Russel (Jo.) Lord, divers lands granted in the counties of Hertford, Buckingham, and others.—5 Part of Originals, 37 year, roll 114.

And the manor of *Carysitipaine*, and other things, in the county of Somerset.—1 Part Originals, 31 Hen. VIII. rolls 72 and 29.

And the manor of *Dudington*, and other things, in the county of Northampton, late of Francis Lovell. —Originals, 30 Hen. VIII. roll 121.

And divers manors and lands in divers counties.—1 Part Originals, 33 Hen. VIII. roll 6.

And the manor of *Aston* St. Abbott's, and other things, in the counties of Buckingham and Suffolk.—2 Part of Originals, 31 Hen. VIII. roll 284.

And the manors of *Haverhill*, Hersham, and other things, granted in the county of Suffolk.—20 Hen. VIII. roll 122.

And the manor of *Lameworth*, and other things, in the county of York.—Same year, roll 121.

The

The manor of *Acton*, and others, in the county of Middlesex.—2 Part of Originals, 35 Hen. VIII. roll 26.

The rectory of *Inglescombe*, and other things, in the county of Somerset, granted to him and to J. Biss.—9 part of Originals, 36 Hen. VIII. roll 86.

A grant in the counties of *Middlesex*, *Leicester*, and *Dorset*, to him and to Roger Clarke.—4 Part Originals, 36 Hen. VIII. roll 164.

GRANTS TO THE PORTLAND FAMILY.

A grant of the capital messuage called *Theobald's House* in *Cheshunt*, in the county of Hertford, to William, Earl of Portland.—2 Part of Originals, 1 William and Mary, roll 53.

To the same William the King demised to farm a parcel of land in the palace of *Whitehall*.—Com. Middlesex, Originals, 8 William III. roll 22.

Another demise of lands in Whitehall to the said Earl in the same year and on the same roll.

A grant to him of the honor of *Penrith*, otherwise *Perith*, in the county of Cumberland.—Orig. 8 W. III. roll 37.

To the same, a grant of the manor of *Pevensey* in the county of Sussex,—same year and same roll.

Another of the manor of *Patrington* in the county of York,—same year and same roll.

Another grant to the same William, of *Barnsley*, with the manor of *Dodworth* in the county of York.—Originals, same year and same roll.

A grant of the manor of *Grantham*, in the county of Lincoln.—Original, same year and same roll.

A lease of the manor of *Thwing*, in the county of York.—Original, same year and same roll.

A grant of the manor of *Terrington*, in the county of Norfolk,—same year and same roll.

A grant of the manor of *Dracklow*, in the county of Chester.—Original, same year and same roll.

Another

Another of the manor of *Rudheath*, in the ſame county,—ſame year and ſame roll.

William, Earl of Portland, made ranger of *Windſor Great Park* in com. Berks.—Orig. 9 William III. roll 55.

A grant to the ſaid William and his heirs, of certain lands in or near the pariſh of *St. Anne*, and other places in the county of Middleſex.—Orig. 10 William III. roll 31.

This work contains, in like manner, references to all the grants made by the Crown to different families, from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. to the end of the reign of Queen Anne.

None of the land of the Duke of Buckingham was granted to the Bedford family by Henry VIII. but the ſame were granted to the following perſons, viz.

Walter, Lord Ferrers; Sir Nicholas Carew, and his wife; Charles, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife, Roger Ratcliffe; Sir Lionel Gray; Sir William Sands; J. Ruſhbrooke; Thomas, Marquis of Dorſet; Sir Richard Jermingham; Thomas, Duke of Norfolk; Elizabeth Harewell; Sir Henry Morney; Henry Norreys, Eſq. John Scott; Henry Gulford; Sir John Gray; Charles, Earl of Worceſter; Henry, Lord Stafford; and to Bulleyne, Tyler, Wingfield, More, Cardican, Dune, and Eſſex.

Vide the firſt volume of the ſame work, under the title Buckingham, tempore Henry VIII.

FINIS.